

A most excellent Hystorie,
**Of the Institution
and firste beginning of
Christian Princes, and the
Originall of Kingdomes:**

Wherunto is annexed a treatise of Peace and Warre, and another of the dignitie of Mariage.

Very necessarie to be red, not only of all Nobilitie and Gentlemen, but also of euery publike persone.

First written in Latin by Chelidonius Tigurinus, after translated into French by Peter Bouaistean of Naunts in Brittain, and now englished by Iames Chulcester, Londoner.

**Seen and allowed according to the
order appointed.**

AT LONDON,
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the signe of the Marmayd.
ANNO. 1571.



Whome God defendes and keepes, must flourish stil and stand,
 He saues the Queen, maintains her cause, these armes, & eke his
 His name be blis't therfore, that mightily hath don, (land,
 And in his mercy still so dooth, as he hath well begon.

To the moſte highe and moſt excellent Princeſſe, Elizabeth

by the grace of God, Queene of England, Fraunce,
and Irelande, defender of the Faith, and in
*earth vnder God of the Church of Eng-
land and Ireland chief gouernour.*



HE aunciente Philoſophers
(moſt excellent Princeſſe and
ſoueraigne Lady) haue ben of
opinion, that the natural bodie
of Man vvith the offices and
duties of the parts therof ioy-
ned and vnited togythers to a
cōmon function, do represent
the lyuely image and very fi-
gure of a good and perfect cō-
mon vvealth: in the vvliche
their iudgement they ſeemed
to be men of a maruelous vvif-
dome, and of great vnderſtanding and knowvledge in the con-
templation of diuine and humaine things. For they did perceiue
and ſee, that in the body of man (representing the parts & mem-
bers of the cōmon vvealth (as I haue ſaid) there be diuers partes
of diuers and ſundry actions and motions, differing muche in
forme and numbre, vvch being knit togythers, and conſenting
in one vniformitie to the common benefite of the vvhole, doo
ſhevv a maruellous forme of a common vvealth, and there can
not be imagined a greater concord than is propotioned by the
freendly vnite of theſe diuers and contrary members. For there
is ſuche a mutuall compaſſion in the ſayd partes and members
one vvith an other (as it vv ere by one common feeling and be-
ing in them all) that no one part can taſt of pleaſure or pain, (if
A. ij. they

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they be liuely members, vvhich els are to be cut of, for infecting the reste) but the others must of necessitie be partakers of the same. And as in the body of man also (vvhiche *Plato* figureth to be the lesse vvorlde) the immortal soule, is the chief and most excellent parte, vvhiche neuer ceaseth but is continually moving, and euer occupied in imaginatiō of great and high things, providently foreseeing and diligently deuising vvhath is to be eschued and vvhath is to be soloued, and is alwayes prompt & redy to moue and stirre vp the faculties and membres of the sayd body to execute those things vvhiche shal be moeste meetest for the same: Euen so in the great vvorlde, by the vvisdom of god and the vniuersal consent of men, is elected and chosē one principal mā (in noblenesse and vertue surpassing the reste) to beare the like rule and authoritie in the body of euery cōmon vvelth, as the intellectuall soule doth in the mēbers of the natural body of mā: to vvhō is giuen the name of a king or prince, and to him as to the vvortheiest part of the societie of men, God and nature haue giuen the preeminēce and authoritie to rule and cōmaund al, as by vvhose providence and vvisdom the cōmon vvelth shold vniuersally prosper and flourish; and therefore as he is for his vertues and noblenesse set and cōstituted in the chief place of rule & gouernement, so he ought to excel in the same, and to be a solouer of that, for the vvhich he is chiefly elected and chosē and that his vvel doing may be an exāple to the meaner membres to follow the same: the true portraict & very image of vvhiche princely estate, and vvhath hath bin the cause of such choice & electiō, this present author (intituled *Celidomus Tigurinus, Of the institution of christian Princes. &c.*) amongs other matters doth marvellous liuely set forth & describe, vwith al the ornaments & attire of vertue mete for the same, as any pen cā declare, or any hart cā wish or desire, vvhich state being in al points in ful perfection, he extolleth to be so noble & so high a degree of being, as none other in the terrestrial vvorlde, is or may be comparable to it. In the discourse vvhērof (most noble Princesse) is vouched a great nūbre of famous authors, as vvel sacred as prophane, beautified and enriched vwith many vvorthy sayings and notable lessons, in the

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the vvhich (ouer & besides the fitnesse and aptnesse of the phra-
ses, and the maiestie of the sentences therein conteyned) is hid-
den vnder the barke of the vvords therof, a diuine preeminence
and authoritie mixed vvith a certaine quickenesse of speeche to
reproue vice (yea ready to applye the cauterie, and to pull vp
the same by the rootes) vvhere the offences appeare to be inue-
terate and incurable, alvvayes obseruing suche a modestie and
reuerence tovvards Princes and Magistrates, as it shoulde seeme
rather to be much comfort to their harts, thā any vvays offen-
siue or greuous. And bicause the vvell doings of the good and
vertuous, and the disorder of the euil & vvicked might appeare
to al posteritie, that they may lerne therby to folovv the one, &
to leaue the other, this author in this his said discourie (most gra-
cious princeesse) hath set forth as it vver to the eie, hovv that ma-
ny being descended of base & vnknowvn bloud, through their
vertue, great valiantnesse and vvorthie acts, haue of a very smal
beginning, ben aduanced to this noble estate of kings and prin-
ces, vvho after they had atchieued the place of rule and gouer-
nement, by continuing their noblenesse and vvorthinesse, in or-
dering and vsing their authoritie vvell and prudently, haue meri-
ted immortall fame and prayse: and hovv that some others do-
ing the contrary, vvere (by the iust iudgement of God) shame-
fully ouerthrowvn and cast down from high estate and degree,
to great vvretchednesse and miserie, to their great reproche and
ignomie for euer: by vvvhich exāples the good may lerne to en-
crease in vertue and noblenesse, and the vicious and insolent see
the frutes of their vvickednesse, and perceyue hovv that naugh-
tie dooings haue alvvayes naughtie endes. And in the *treatise*
of Peace and Warre, (most noble Princeesse) added to this sayd
Author by the translater therof out of the Latin into the french
tong, there is at large set forth the benefits and commodities
of the one, and the discommodities and enormities of the o-
ther: vvhereby all Kings and Princes may rather be moued to
embrace and maynteyne peace and quietnesse (as things moste
necessarie for all common vvealths) than any vvays be inclined
to vvwarre and crueltie (moste pernicious and hurtfull) vvvhiche
bringeth

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bringeth nothing else but murthering of innocentes, rauishing of honest vviues and maidens, burning, spoyling and destroying of countreys, euen the very frutes of vvarre, and yet commonly that vvhiche is gotten vwith much paynes, great expenses, and vnmereyfull effusion of christian bloud, is oftentimes in one moment lost againe. And therefore more praise shall those princes deserue, that leaue their kingdomes to their successors quiet and vvelthy, than those that for the conquest of others haue impouerished and disturbed their ovvne. And bycause this sayde treatise of Peace and vvarre dothe declare both the extremities as vvell vvhath number of beautifull cities haue ben edified, and vvhath greate countreys haue ben enriched by peace and quietnesse, as also vvhath goodly regions and prouinces haue ben destroyed and ouerthrowne by stryfe and vvarre, it is very necessary for all Princes and Magistrates to spende some little tyme to reade the same, to the end they may thereby take occasion so honourably to leade their liues, as after their deathes they may shyne to their posteritie, and vvinne thereby euerlasting fame and renoume. And in the other treatise of the daunger and hurt that doth grow to a common vvelth by incontinencie, and of the commendation of Mariage (added also to this Author by the said translater out of the latin into the French tong) is shewed and manifested (moste vvorthy Princeesse,) by many fearefull and horrible examples, howe that the Lorde God aboue all other sinnes, hath most greuously plagued the vvorlde in all estates from age to age, for that abhominable and filthie sinne of incontinencie, yea euen to the vutter subuersion of many noble regions and kingdomes, vwith the rooting out of the posteritie of their kings and princes for ever. For the auoyding vvhetherof, he hath appoynted and ordeyned that holy and honorable state of matrimonie, into the vvhiche he willeth that all estates shall enter (vwhen they feeles themselves vnapt to liue sole) as vvell for the procreation of children, as for the comfort and relief of their vweak and imperfect nature, & that vve shold keepe the bondes thereof vwith all purenesse and innocencie of mynde, that it be not layde in condemnation agaynst vs in the day

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day vvhhen all mennes dooings shall be made open and manifest. And this kynde of lyfe is so greatly aduanced and honoured, that it is not onely had in estimation amonge Christians, but also amonges the Heathen : yea and Nature vwoorketh suche effecte in all creatures, that euen amongs the brute and saluage beastes, and also amongs insensible thyngs there appeareth a mutuall affection betvvene the male and female, as shall euidentlye appeare in readyng this sayde Discourse. 110
 And novv (most noble and redoubted Princesse) that I haue signified vnto your excellencie, the vvhole effecte of this sayd author (vvhiche I haue turned out of the frenche into oure Englishe tong) though not so eloquentiy as others coulde haue doone, yet (I trust) truly and according to the meaning of the sayde Authour, I doo vvith all submission, present the same vnto your highnesse, not as a matter needefull to put your Maiestie in remembrance of any thing that shoulde be vvanting in your noble personage, appertaining to the dutie of the maiestie royal of a prince (being most manifest and aparāt to the vvhole vvorld, your maiestie doth dayly fight and combat against those enormities that are most chiefly reprehended in this vvork) but rather to be as it vvere a glasse for your highnesse, to see and beholde (to your graces great comfort) the manyfolde benefites that God hath bestowved at all tymes, and in all ages on those that haue loued and feared hym, and howe that vvith hys mightye hande he hathe and dayly dothe, keepe and defend all suche Princes and Magistrates, as doo iustely and truly execute theyr offices in maynteynyng of Iustice, and seeking the aduancemente of his glorie, by setting sporth true Religion according to his holy vvoorde and commaundemente, vvhyche vvith vvhat greate studie and care of mynde youre hyghnesse trauallyeth to do continually, bothe God and the vvorld are vvitnesses : notwithstanding that dyuerse and many greate conspiracies, haue ben and dayely are practized in these perillous and dangerous dayes agaynst your maiestie for the same, vvhych (thanks be to God) haue alvvayes ben reueled before they vyer ripe, vvherin of his great goodnesse & mercy
he

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he hath miraculously defended your noble and royall persone from tyme to tyme, as it vvere in despite of your enimies, and against all their deuises and policies, euen to some of their confusion, and to the greate admiration and vvonder of the reste: vvhiche is a strong and infallible argument that hee is pleased in these your dooings, in the vvhiche if your Maiestie do perseuere, it shall be (no doubt) not onely a great reioycing to all your true and faithfull subiectes, and terrour to your sayde enimies: but also a mightie defence and strong bulwuarke ageynst all such as any vvays seeke to trouble and anoy your highnesse moste quiet estate. Ceassing novv any longer to vwearie youre Maiestie vvith ouer many vayne and superfluous vvordes, there resteth nothing for the perfect accomplishment of the same, but a safecundite to serue as a guyde to make it passe the more surely amongs such captious perions as are more ready to fynd fault than any vvayes to put to their hands to amend the same. VVherfore I doo moste humbly beseeche your highnesse not to take it in euill parte, that I doo presume to call vppon your diuine name, and dedicate the same to your excellencie, for a defence and safegarde, beeing moste assured, that it can not bee but vvell receyued, and fauoured of all menne, if it maye haue so good happe to bee defended vvith the beames and brightnesse of the excellent vertues that doo most abundantly floure in youre moste noble and royall person, moste humbly beseeching the same to accepte this at the handes of youre faythful, true and obedient subiecte, as the first frutes of his labour, and as the giste of him that vvoulde giue better, if it vvere any vvayes in his pouer: praying GOD to graunt youre most excellent hyghnesse vvithall, long and prosperous reygne ouer vs, perfecte health, muche tranquillitie, and ageynst all your enemies moste happie & triuphant victorie.

*Your moste humble
and obedient subiect*
JAMES Chillester.

THE TABLE

A Table conteyning all the
Chapters of this present Booke.

THe definition of a King, and what a kingdome is, and howe
that in many insensible things and also in bruite beasts, we shal
finde certaine similitudes and figures of Kingdomes and common
Wealthes. Chapter. 1. Folio. 15.

How that the first beginning of Kings and princes is very an-
cient, and that immediately after the creation of the World, the
people beganne too choose and electe Kings and Princes. Chapter. 2.
Fol. 24.

What the Dignitie Royall is, and how the same cannot be sup-
plied without greate trouble and danger: With a declaration
what kinde of gouernement is best for the people to liue happily
and quietly. Chapter. 3. Folio. 32.

How that those which shall command others, ought first to
master them selues, and so suppress and moderate their affections
and passions, that by their good liues; they may induce those that
be subiect to them, to vertue and godlinesse. Chapter. 4. Fol. 41.

How that if the Prince desire to haue his Common welth to
be well gouerned, it is most meetest and necessarie, that he him
selfe obeye and obserue the lawes, that by his good examplas he may
teache the vulgare and common people to do the like, and liue in
fearo and obedience towardes him. Chapter. 5. Folio. 48.

Howe that a Prince for his better perfection in the ordering
and directing of his life, ought specially aboue all other things to
be learmed and also to haue continuall conference and Counsell
With sage and wise men, whiche shalbe as the sinnewes and life
wherby his Realme shall be sustained and maintained: wherein
also

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also is made diuers and many discourses, of the honour and reuerence that Princes in the olde time haue borne towards learning and knowledge. Chapter. 6. Fol. 57.

How that Kings and Princes ought chiefly and most principally to haue the state of christian Religion in greate reuerence and estimation, and to shewe themselves louers of the same: and that they ought also to be very diligent and carefull to punish the blasphemers and cōtemners therof, and withal to purge their dominions and realmes of all heretikes and Sectaries: for the which there is shewed many examples of erroneous sectes, together with the false doctrine of Mahomet, his life and death, and by what means and subtiltie he hath suborned and seduced so many people, and how many Emperours, kings and princes, after they had persecuted the faithfull of the Church of God, did not escape the sharp vengeance of his wrath, but dyed in the end of some shamefull and horrible death, Chapter. 7. Fol. 82.

Howe that Princes ought to eschue and put away all furiousnesse and pryde, and that they oughte not to truste to muche in their force and mightinesse: with a declaration of the humane miseries, and to how many accidentes of misfortune our liues are subiect, with also diuers examples howe manye descended of a meane and unknowne blood, haue ben aduanced to the estate of Kings, Princes, and Emperours: and how contrarywise, many taking their originall of noble blood and progenie, when they were in the full complement of all prosperitie, haue ben through their wicked and abominable doings (by the deuine permission) shamefully ouerthrowen and druen out of their kingdomes and dominions. Chapter. 8. Folio. 106.

How that clemencie and gentlenesse, are vertues most meete and conuenable for Kings and Princes, with many examples alleaged, confirming the same. Chapter. 9. Folio. 128.

What Iustice is, and what profite and commoditie be same bring.

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bringeth to gouernement, and how that without the use thereof,
Kingdomes cannot be called kingdomes, but denmes and recep-
tacles for theenes and robbers. Chapter. 10. Folio. 142.

How that crueltie and tyrannie are cheefe enemies to Justice,
where also is shewed wherein the good Prince differeth from the
tyrannous Prince, with sundry examples confirming the same,
gathered as well out of the Greeke as Latine Authors: Which
will bring great pleasure and contentation too the Reader.
Chapter. 11. Folio. 147.

A Treatise of Peace and Warre, and the difference of the
one from the other, things necessarie to be red by Princes and ma-
gistrates that haue the gouernement of Realmes and Common
Wealthes. Chapter. 12. Fol. 155.

How hurtfull incontinencie is to Princes, and how that the
same hath ben the cause of the ruine and destruction of manye
realmes and kingdomes, with also a Treatise of the dignitie and
excellencie of the honourable state of Matrimonie.
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The ende of the Table.



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Printer to the University, and how to be printed: the University
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The end of the Table





Peter Bouaisteau to the Reader.



Entle Reader, thou
shalte vnderstande that
this presente Vuctoure
whose translatiō I pre-
fer here vnto thee, doth
not folowe others of the
Greekes and Latines,
that haue entreted of the
like matter, bicause they
alway (wryting any in-
structiōs for their Prin-
ces) were accustomed to aduertize them, how they
ought to gouerne themselves in mariage, and also
to admonishe them that they shoulde flee from the
companie of euill and wicked women, and to be vi-
gilant and careful to cleanse their dominions of all
such infections, as the onely things that tended to
the better decay and ruine of them. Neyther doth
he make any mention here howe Princes ought to
eschue wars and embrace peace, a thing so necessa-
rie, as without the which, Gouernement is alto-
gether imperfect and maymed. We hath likewise
omitted to exhorthe Princes to banishe out of their
Courtes al Flatterers and other such kinde of ver-
mine,

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mine that do nothing else but fyl their eares with
 vnnecessarie pleasures and delights, whose exer-
 cise is onely to watche apte houres and tymes to
 feede them with toyes and fantasies, wherin they
 do so well play their partes, that in the ende they
 corrupte them, although they be very good of na-
 ture and well inclined. And if thou be curious to
 knowe the occasyon, why the Authour hath sup-
 pressed and kept in silence, in the discourse of thys
 Booke, things so necessarie for Regimente (seeing
 he hath so wel entreated of the rest) I can not tell
 any reason therfore, other than (as I suppose) that
 he was preuented by death, being in purpose if he
 had liued longer, to haue performed those points.
 And the cause that doth leade mee thus to be per-
 suaded, is, for that there was founde of his doing
 (after his decease) one Booke of Geographie, and
 another of Greeke Epigrams, that were imper-
 fect and vncorrected, which are at this presente in
 the Kings Librarie to be sene. And in place ther-
 of I am emboldned (trusting vpon the good inter-
 pretation thou wilt make of these my labours) to
 ioyne vnto it these three treatises beforesaid, of
 mine owne inuention, for the better and more per-
 fect adourning of this worke: assuring thee, that
 I haue not so wel trusted in myne owne habilitie,
 nor presumed of my selfe so much, but that I haue
 vsed therein the ayde of certain famous Latin Au-
 thors, and specially in the Treatise of Peace and
 Warre, as thou mayest perceyue by the reading
 thereof. And as touching the other two, I haue
 perfour-

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performed them rather by myne own labor and
travayle, than by any other meanes, which ne-
uertheless are not to be condemned, although (as
the Comickall Poete sayeth) there is nothing pre-
sently there spoken, that hath not bene sayd long
before. The fyrste Treatise, which is agaynst
Parasites and Flatterers, thou mayest reade in
my Prologue: and that of the excellencie of Ma-
riage, and the other of Peace and Warre, be the
last two Chapters of this present Booke. Besydes
these things before named, I have gathered oute
of many good Authoures (by the perswasion of a
friend of mine) the life, maners, religion and death
of that monster Mahomet, and shewed by what
meanes and subtiltie he did seduce and cary away
with him so many people. In which things

I praye thee fyrst reade wpth good deli-
beration before thou do iudge, and
then I doubt not but thou shalt
finde matter in them, that
shal be to thy conten-
tation & comfort.

Farewell.

B.ij.

The



¶ The Prologue.



Demetrius the renowned Philosopher, hath left unto vs in writing, that *Demetrius Phalerius* an excellent Orator and Philosopher (vpon whome the *Athenians* as vpon a firm and strong pillar reposed them, for the government of their Seignories and Dominions) did accustome, amongst his private exhortations, to perswade *Ptholome* King of *Egipt*, to erect a Librarie, &

to furnishe the same with all manner of Bookes, and namely with such as did intreate of the Government of Realmes and Kingdomes: and withall, did specially exhort him to employ certaine houres of the day in reading of them, that hee mighte thereby the better be instructed how to rule and gouerne such a puissant Realme as *Egipt* was: because Bookes do alwayes frankly & with all libertie admonish vs of those things which our Friends (commonly giuing place to time) do suppress and keepe in silence. And in Bookes also, if wee wil diligently and with iudgement consider well such exhortations and counsels as wee may reade in them, wee shall finde much comforte and commoditie: for Bookes are as Iudges without feare, which neuer are ashamed to shewe the truth, nor neuer stay themselves for the dyspleasure or indignation of any King, Prince, or Magistrate, but folowing their free nature and condition, with sharp and nypping wordes do disclose mens corrupt manners, rebuking them so sharply, that there is no sword more to be feared than the learned pen, which toucheth euil and wicked men euen to the inward partes of the soule, and neuer giueth any stroke, but it pierceth to the ende and memorie of manners life: for if vpon purpose she wil describe the outrages and disorders

*Bookes bee
Iudges without
fear or
affection.*

The Prologue.

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orders of any dictious Prince, the maketh his doings appeare
so odious (by his eloquence) that those that reade the same, shal
be in great dreade and feare to heare such things named: and
such as haue committed any crime shall be greatly ashamed
that ever they did offende. And againe, if thee do employ his
force to commend their vertues and well doings, the will
blaze and set them out so maruellously, that such as shal reade
it, shall so honour and reuerence those (whose Heroicall ver-
tues they heare so exalted) that euen as men raiſhed, and mo-
ued with the same and glorie therof, will enforce themselves
by al meanes possible to resemble their doings so linely repre-
sented vnto them. But contrarywise, these flattering and
mealy mouthed friends of the pleasant Court, thinking to
lose the fauour that they seeke for, or to runne into the dysgrace
and dyspleasure of their Lordes and Masters, ostentymed to
stoppe their eares, become mute and dumbe, and passe vnder
consent the enormities and abuses they see at the eye, and touch
euen as if were with their fingers notwithstanding they know
and see very well, their Princes and Lordes want greatly ad-
monition and counsell. There is yet an other kinde of ver-
mine, but muche worse and more contagious by a thousande
parts than the others, and be such as put the oyle to the match,
that be the trumpettes to prouoke and stirre them to wicked-
nesse, the torches that inflame them to vice, and that with plea-
sant commendations oyle and annoynt their heads vntil they
be growne fat with their owne filthynesse: and these be they
that the Prophet speaketh of, that do putte the pillows vnder
their heads and the rushions vnder their elboves, and with
pleasant and sweete flattering wordes bring them asleepe til
they be bound and buried in their owne abominations. And
these kinde of monsters among men be of the nature of Cater-
pillers, which neuer cleaue but vnto the good frutes, or of the
nature of Poatthes, that alwayes follo w good clothes: for yet
shall neuer see them at any poore mannes gate, but as the As-
s doo followeth the bodie, so shall you finde them in the Pal-

Fearefull
friendes.

Those that
doo flatter
Princes and
lead them to
wickednesse.

*The descrip-
tion of the
arte and in-
dustrie of
the flatterers
of the court.*

*Many com-
mon weales
haue bene
made ruinate
by aduicery.*

*Philosophers
are rebukers
of wickednes*

laces of Princes, Kings and great Lords, whose heartes they do so well know how to winne (by a certaine sweet and harmonious manner of flattering and beane commendations which they ring vnto their eares) that in the ende they snare & catch them by one meane or other. The entrie of this kinde of people is very gentle, they bee like vnto ware, they melte and transfoyme theselues into al fashions, but their end is to worke than the byting of a scorpion: their wordes bee washed wth sweetnesse and perfumed with pleasant smells, but in their hands they cary poison, & do ruinate al such as giue eare vnto them. The dissimulation & subtiltie of such persons do amaze and dyscomfort the Sicilians, when the tyrannie of Dennis & Phalaris was by these flatterers called punishment & due iustice for their wickednesse: such pestilent Wipers did infect & defile Egypt, when the effeminate doings of Ptholome wth other his sonde and foolish vanities, were called by them god deuotion and deuine seruice: and such corruptio deceyued also the Romans, when the deliciousnesse & wantonnesse of Antonie such flatterers made so small account of, that they called it humanitie and curtesie: Of which pestilent serpents and such like, ought those that are Lords and possessors of al, to haue good regard vnto, who want nothing but frank and discrete mouthes that should tel them the truth. And therefore to auoide such domesticall enozmities (as wyrteth Philostratus) Titus the sonne of Vaspasianus, in the beginning of his Empire, departing out of Iudea, prayed Appolonius that excellent Philosopher, that he woulde giue him some politike instructions for the better gouernment of his Empire and defence of his enimies. To whome Appolonius answered, that he woulde giue him a scholler of his owne, which should alwayes bee with him, a liberal, franke and iust man in all his wordes, who for the feare of any man woulde not forbear to say the truth. I wil (sayd he) giue you (at this your request) a dog, that shal bee capable of reason, and shall bark agaynst all men, yea euen agaynst your owne selfe if ye shal do any thing

wyrthy

The Prologue.

7

worthy reprehensio, and that vs with al wisdom & discretio,
and haue regard to the time & season when and how he ought
to do his office. I will receiue him with a good heart (sayd the
Emperoz, & not onely suffer him to bark but also to scratch &
bite if he see me commit any iniustice, or any other act vnlawfully
for the maiestie of mine estate & empire. And Alexander that
gret Monarch, did not disdain the seuerer answer of that mi-
serable & abiect man Diogenes, but had him in so gret admira-
tion, that he cried out with loude voice, saying, that if he were
not Alexander he woulde not desire any other thing (for his
perfection) but to be Diogenes. Likewise Dennis, although
he was a tyrant & King of Syccilia by force, could neuer be per-
suaded by such flattering Courtiers, to put fro him that great
number of wise and learned men that he had about him, who
(although he was a man himselfe cleene gone astray, wretched
and folded in al kinde of euill & wickednesse) answered to those
shamelesse flatterers and sayd: I do not mainteine these le-
rned men about me that ye tell me off, for any loue I beare to
them, or for any account that I make of their knowledge and
wisdom, but I do it (sayd he) for that I would be praised and
commended rather of them than any others. So you may see &
vnderstand hereby, that although he neither loued vertue nor
iustice, yet alwayes he would eschue slander & reproch aswell
in his life time as after his death. For the like cause Lacydes
Syrenus was commaunded of King Attalus by his letters, and
also by his messengers to repaire to hys Court, and promy-
sed him great promotions with much fauour and good will in
al his requests, wherunto he would not consent, but answer-
ed him that Philosophers were as pictures or images which
did shew better far off than at hande. Craterus the Emperoz
also did oftentimes intreate Diogenes to remaine with him
to be an aide and helper vnto him to gouerne his Empire in
good order, to whome he answered, he loued better to bee fed
with salte at Athens, than to be with him in all pleasure & de-
licatenesse, fearing least hee would do with him, as Nero did,

*Alexander
for hys perfec-
tion desireth
to bee like
Diogenes.*

*The tyrants
themselues
doe honour
learning.*

*Nero a mar-
tyrer of hys
deere frends.*

who

*The cruell
death of Se-
neca.*

*Zopyrus a
deare friend
to Darius.*

*Philosophers
gouerners of
Princes.*

with his, who put to death al his friends because they should not admonishe him of his wickednesse, nor that they shoulde be witnesses of his mysledemeanours: and to auide this, he gaue great gifts and rewarde to Aurelius Cotta, and to Atherius Anthomus, and retained them stil with him in al delicatenesse and plesure: but that holy and vertuous man Seneca his maister, in satisfaction of al his good exhortations and holy documentes which hee from time to time had giuen him, hee caused to be put into a baine of luke warm water, and al the baynes of his body to be opened, that hee might with bleeding die, and so hee entreated that poore olde man. And it was not without good cause that Darius did so much commend his friend Zopyrus, who on a time holding in his hand a Pomegranade, desired among other things, to haue so many such like friends as Zopyrus was, as there were kernelles contained in the same: and of good reason hee sayd it, for hee shewed him self so affectioned to him being his Prince and Maister, that hee spared not to cut his owne nose and eares, and to mangle and disgrace all his face to bring *Babylon* into his subiection. And Xerxes his sonne following therein his fathers good inclination, was not in that respect much inferiour to him: for in that great & huge armie which he led into *Grecia*, hee had with him one Damarchus, who franckly and boldely did admonishe and reprove him alwayes of his disorders. Grekes vsed the counsell of Solon, Calisthenes the scholler of Aristotle shewed the way to Alexander, Dyon and Plato to Dionise of Syracusa. And therefore S. Hierome exhorteth al Princes, that when they find a wise and faythful man, they should keepe him as their owne hearts, for the comfort of this our miserable life (sayth hee) is to haue one to whom wee may commit our selues to open our mindes and to communicate our affaires in secrete, and vpon whom wee may repose and assure our selues in aduersitie, and to be vnto vs as a firme rock in all troubles, and a reliefe among so many miseries and calamities with the which this oure carefull life is continually besieged. I haue bene the moze willing to bring

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to bring forth these examples, because there be some, whose eares be so deintie that they cannot abide that any man (though it be with modestie) shall reprove the euilles wherewith they are infected: but howe would they then suffer the libertie of the scoffes, the bitter tauntes and sharpe dealings even to the quicke, of the aunciente Comedies, as well in Graeke as in Latine, that were made for the better destroying and pulling vpp by the rootes the wickednesse that did raigne in those dayes there. And the Lorde God did not commaunde the Prophete that he should onely plant and builde, but that he should first pull vp by the rootes and make all ruine, that he might the better plant and builde after wardes: and that he should crie out with a loude voice like a Trumpet to the people, not to pronounce or set forth their glozie, but their iniquities, and tel the house of Iacob their offences. In like manner the Lorde our Saviour Iesus Christ sayd vnto his Disciples, speake openly that whiche I tell you in secrete, and preach vpon the toppes of the houses that I haue sayd in your eares. And the Lorde sayde also to Ezechiel that he had giuen his seruauntes a foreheade of Bzasse and of harde stone, that they should no more feare to tell the people their offences, than they haue bene ashamed to offende, therefore sayde he, go and speake to them, and say those things which I commaunde thee: (who I knowe will not regarde thy wordes) yet I wil neuerthelesse thou shalt speak to them. And to such manner of men as will not be rebuked of their wickednesse openly, there is no medicine more meete for their dyscaies, than the continuall reading of Bookes, which do the office of Judges and reformers, and giue them knowlege of their offences. And further if wee mark wel, there are many other things that do sufficiently reprove and correcte vs of our offences, for all our wordes and actions serue as wytnesses of the same in our own consciences: for there is no man so fond or so farre out of his common sense, but alwayes knoweth whether hee doe well or euill: For as Chrysostome sayeth

Jeremie. 1.

Elaie. 58.

*The trueth
ought freely
with all liber-
tie to be pro-
nounced o-
penly.*

Ezechiel.

*A medecine
for such as do
offende, and
wil not be re-
prehended o-
penly.*

C. f.

wisely,

Tom 6. Ho. 15
vpon. 5. Luke.

*A marvelous
prouidence of
the remorse
of conscience*

Deuteronomio. 28.

*Wicked men
be vexed and
troubled as
the waves of
the Seas.*

*Nero & Ca-
ligula tormē-
ted in the
night wyth
passions.*

*God causeth
euen the very
reprobate too
taste of his
Iudgements*

wisely, that when a man hath committed any notable crime it is most certayne that hee tasteth his condemnation in his owne conscience, and immediately after the offence done hee hath his conscience for an accuser, for witnesse, for iudge, and for an executer, which doth strike such remorse into his heart and bite him so rigorously, that hee surmounteth the presence of a thousande witnesses: hee toucheth him so nere, hee bereth and tormenteth him so cruelly, that if all the Angels in heauen and all the men in the worlde shoulde persuaide hym of any thing hee doth wickedly, to be good & iust, yet he could not satisfie himselfe, nor put from him the iudgement of his owne conscience: which is wel proued by that which is written in Deuteronomie, that euell men do tremble and quake at the fall of the leafe of a tree, and that they are alwayes euen as though their liues hung vpon a thred. Wherefore the Prophet Esay did not wyte without cause, howe that euell men be as the boyling of the seas, which can not be pacified: as wee haue many examples therof in sundrie places of the scriptures, and specially by Iudas and Caine, who feeling such anguish and troubles in their spites, thought that their offences were greater than the mercie of God. We haue the like examples in our prophane hystories of that cruell Nero, who after hee had killed his owne mother, was repproued and reprehended for his offences in his sleepe (as hee confessed hymselfe) for hee sayde hee had a vision of his mother, which did so trouble him, that often times hee was vexed and tormented with extreame furies, as though hee had bene burning wyth flaming Toarches. Caius Cæsar, surnamed Caligula, was troubled in the night in his sleepe, and neuer coulde take his rest quietly, but with terroz and feare, was vexed and troubled with many passions and visions in his dreames (euen the very guiltinesse of conscience for the life passed) the which would not suffer him to take rest. And this violence of mans conscience proceedeth from God, which maketh his enemies so to feele his wyath and iudgement, that they can not beare it quietly,

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II

it quietly, but are constrained to condemne themselves, And this is it that S. John doth manifeste vnto vs, saying, if our heartes condemne vs, God is greater than our heartes: yea, and if there should wante sufficient examples for these matters in the sacred Scriptures and prophane Authoꝝ, yet wee haue witnesse thereof by nature so well grauen and printed in our heartes, that euen the same did constrain the ancient Poets to inuent certaine torments and furies that should bee as reuengements and punishments for our sinnes and wickednesse: which in deede is nothing else but euen the tormentes and vexations of euell consciences. This is the worme whereof Esay the Prophet speaketh, which neuer dieth, but gnaweth & eateth without al mesure. And the remembrance of these mischeuous and wicked doings (as Cicero wytyeth) bee as flames and torches which burne and terrifie continually our heartes, as is testified by Epicurus that great Patriarch of the *Epicurians* (with whome all the worlde is infected) who althoughe he neuer thought that there was eyther God, Diuell, Paradise, or Hell, yet alwayes he doth confesse (as Seneca sayth) that the greatest paine of them that do sinne, is, that they haue sinned: for the paine of sinne is the very sinne it selfe.

The worme of the conscience of the wicked neuer ceaseth gnawing and byting.
Esay. 66.

Epicurus patriarch of the Atheists.

Epicurus constrained too confesse the remorse of conscience.

But now we to retourne to our first purpose, it is necessarie (I say) following the counsell of Demetrius, for all Kings, Princes, and other great Rulers, to haue refuge to Booke which do contayne as well instructions for their manners, as the order and dyscourse of their liues. Let no man therefore bee grieued if hee feele him selfe a little touched or condemned in them, in some things, for that kinde of aduertisement is not particular, but generall, as that is when any man doeth preach the word of God in any publike place, who searcheth and examineth gently all mens manners, and makes plaine their offences in generall, as Iesus Christ himselfe in many places of the Scriptures doth rebuke the people, and condemn their offences without touching any man particularly:

The conclusion of the worke

C. y.

and yet

*The reue-
rence due too
Superiours.*

*Leuit. 19.
Ecclesiast. 18.*

Exodus. 22.

1. Pet. 2.

and yet for all this there can be nothing so well and orderly sette forth, whereof there will not be made a peruerse and naughtie interpretation (if the Judge be wicked) nor any thing so commendable or praiseworthy, which shall not be brought into suspicion or doubt by the malicious and corrupt iudgement of man. And thus much I say, because I would meete with certaine backbiters and slanderers, that thinke I haue brought this worke into lighte to deface or stayne the honour of those that are liuing, which is far from my intent, being for a long time conuersant in reading as well the holie Scriptures, as other prophane Authours, wherein I haue learned in what regarde and reuerence we ought to haue our Superiours and Gouernours, and holue that the kingdome of Heauen is shut from those that speake euell, and that they ought not to be any backbiters or cursed speakers among the people, for both be accursed of God, because they trouble those that be in peace. To the ende therefore, I say, to shut vp the mouthes of such foolish babblers, and to take away the occasion of euell iudgement from those that followe the malice of Spiders, conuerting into poyson all that euer they doe touch, and as the Wipers infect al those with poyson that they may come vnto: I most certainly assure them I doe not by this treatise intende to hurte any liuing, no more then to reprove the deade that repose themselves in the earth, following therein the precepte that Moses hath giuen vs in Exodus, not to backbite the Judges, nor to speake euell of the Prince that gouerneth the people. Which also S. Peter doth confirm when hee sayth we ought to giue them hono^r and reuerence. But if any man be curious to know why I do make mention here in this booke of Nero, Roboam, Sardanapalus, and other suche like (the memorie of whome a man can not once name without note of infamie, because their liues haue bene so far out of order, bloudie and cruell, that the vertuous eares of those that shal heare them named can not but be offended) I answer them that I will not, nor I do not intende by this
my dis-

my discourse to make any comparison with oures and them, no; do not think neither that there is any cōformitie between them: but this is the ende, that reading the Heroical vertues and excellent commendations of an infinit number of Kings, Princes and Lordes which haue bene before them, they shal be pricked and stirred by the brightnesse of their glorie, to make immortall and euerlasting their own renoumes, in following such good acts and doings as they haue done: and likewise to the contrary, when they shal reade the discommendations and euell reportes of many Tyrants that haue infected the earth, and haue giuen occasion of much labour to those that write Hystories (to describe their euell and wicked liues) it shal serue them as a glasse and a perpetuall example to guide their actions, and reforme the state of their liues, to the ende that in the worlde to come, their posteritie doe not the like to them. And to lette you knowe that these are not my wordes onely, hearken to the Lordes sayings (wrytten by the handes of the greates Secretarie Saincte Luke) who when hee will induce vs to humilitie, hee setteth before vs an example, howe Sathan fell from heauen as fire and thunder, and all to the ende we shoulde humble our selues, and that we shoulde not thinke to be exalted by those wayes and meanes whereby others are chaunge doone. And when hee will exhorte vs to flye from euell and wickednesse, and to perseuer in good workes and well doings, hee recommendeth to our remembraunce the wife of Lot. And further, if thou doest marke well the order of the holie Hystories, thou shalt finde that after they haue rehearsed the vertuous acts of manie good and holie men, they mingle and ioyne with the same the doings of the euell and wicked men, to the intent the one may prouoke and carrie vs awayne by their good examples to all well doings, and the others by their euell actes and wycked demeaners might make vs so; beare to folowe their mischaunce and wyckednesse.

In reading the actes of the wicked, men are called from doing wickednesse.

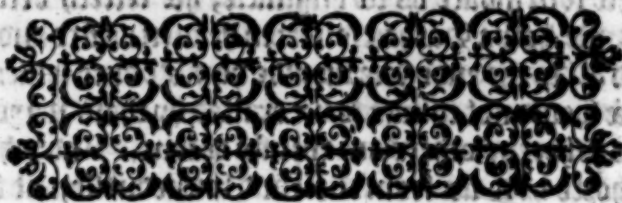
Luke 10.

C.iiij.

And

And nowe to make an ende of this my Prologue, I beseeche
the gentle Reader to construe wel and saythfully of this my
labour and traivagie, according to my meaning: and so doing
thou shalt give me occasion hereafter to sette forth one other
bookke of mine owne invention, entreating of the Original
and beginning of Noblenesse: which, for that I have
consumed the most parte of my life in the studie
as well of the Greeke as the Latine tongue
and figures, I will set forth the same in
Latine, to the ende I may in
something gratifie those
that professe good
Letters.

Farewell.



¶ The Hystorie of Cheli-
donius Tigurinus, of the Institu-
tion and first beginning of Chri-
stian Princes, and the Originall of Kingdomes.

¶ The first Chapter.

The definition of a King, and vvhhat a Kingdome is, and howv that in many insensible things and also in brute beasts, vve shall finde certaine similitudes and figures of Kingdomes and Common vvealthes.



ARISTOTLE in the third booke of his Politiques, hath defined a King or a Prince to bee the puissance of one that governeth & ruleth any Region or Common welth, not serching therein his own particular profit, but the commoditie and common wealth of his subiects; and that Prince which doth so governe, followeth not onely Nature for his guide, but even the Author of Nature himselfe and maker thereof, who commaundeth vniuersally all the world and setteth as a King, preui-

*The definitio
of a King.*

ding for

*Kings and
Princes are
the lively
images of god*

Psalm. 2

*Kings and
Princes are
Gods Lieu-
tenantes up-
on the earth.*

*Similitudes
of king domes
and common
wealthes ap-
peare in al
things.*

ding for all, and dysperseth to eche one his gifts, according to his will and pleasure, without looking for any profit againe, or hauing neede of any thing, but only hath regarde to the vtilitie and profite of those which hee hath created and made. Kings & Princes haue then a maruellous preheminance and an excellent degree of life amongs men, in that they resemble so much their Lorde and Saniour, hauing people vnder their rule and gouernement; and therefore they ought to bee the more curious and circumspecte to do those woorkes which seeme woorthie in the sight of God; and seeing also that their profession is so noble and so excellent, that they do expresse and represent in them (as in a lively Image) the example of their Lorde and maister, they ought so to indeuer and shewe themselves towarde their subiectes, as hee hath done hymselfe towarde his. This is the true Spirro; and purtraicte whereby they shoulde frame their actions and order their lyues, without declining this way or that way as the Psalmist doth exhort them, where it is sayde: Bee wise oh ye Kings, bee learned you that are Judges of the Earth. Enforce your selues therefore ye Princes, to bee like him whose Lieutenants you are, and whose place ye keepe, and bee garnished with these goodly titles of iustice, gentlenesse, clemency, wisdom, and truthe: and strayne youre selues to followe the same, and then you shall bee woorthie these names of Kings and Princes. And the Lords and Saniour hath not only expressed and represented this dignitie royal in himself, but also hee hath grauen and imprinted the same in an infinit number of the woorkes of Nature, in the which as it were in a booke written with his owne hande, men may reade and bee instructed of those things which are meete and agreeable for the maiestie of a Prince. For let vs beholde with iudgement the vniuersall order of Nature, and wee shall finde that in the creation of al things hee hath vsed a marvellous and great wisdom, not making therein all things to bee equal, but hath made a separation and difference among them, and gyuen a
certaine

certaine preheminance and notable mark, by the which they may bee discerned the one from the other, and that in suche sorte, that if wee consider al things vniuersally, and their partes, beginning euen at the heauens, and runne thozow al the other elementes, wee shall finde a sparke of Royaltie, and a certaine preheminance to appeare in all things: soz amongs so great a number of heauens rehearsed by the Philosophers and approued by the holy Scriptures, the imperiall Heauen is the cheefest and Prince of the others, and is withoute comparison most excellent, bicause it is the Seate of God, of the Angels, Partys, and Prophets, in the which they beholde continually that same great brightnesse which they desired to see when they were inuested with this flesh of oures. And let vs beholde the Sunne, which is as it were a lampe burning in heauen, and lightneth all the worlde with his brightnesse, and doth distribute his force and puissance to the Starres and planettes (which the Physitions haue called the heart of heauen, Heraclites, the fountaine of the celestially light) hath it not a representation of the cheef & King, seing that the Moone her self borroweth her light of him, and that by his course all things that bee vnder the globe & circle of the same bee made cleare and bright, haue life and bee quickened, and being as it were dead and buried, be brought againe to their first being, state, and strength: Yea, and that in such sorte, that Sainct Dennis in his Booke *Of the Deuine names*, wondring at his greatnesse and excellencie, was so bolde to call it a cleare Image, and next to the deuine power, King without life, of heauen and earth, which being without reason and vnderstanding by nature, worketh and exerciseth his offices vpon the earth. Let vs looke a little lower and consider the foure Elements wherof all things are composed, and wee shall finde (as all the Philosophers doe say) that the fire is more excellent and noble than the others, and wee shall see in it a certain similitude of Royaltie. Among the foure partes of the worlde, that is to say the East, West, North and South, the East

*The imperi-
al Heauen is
cheefe of all
the others.*

*The Sun is
the cheefest
and Prince
of all the ligh-
tes in heauen.*

*The Fire is
more excel-
lent than all
the other E-
lementes, al-
though some
be of contra-
rie opinion.*

Dj.

taketh

The East
part is more
noble than
the others.

The temper-
ate zone best
Asia better
and more no-
ble than other
parts of the
earth.

Gold is the
Prince of all
mettals.

Bees haue
their King.

Plin. lib 11.

The king of
the Bees ex-
ceedeth the
other in gret-
nesse and in
beauty.

The king of
the Bees hath
a Sting, not
to hurte, but
for defence.

taketh the first place of honour and Royaltie, because that the Worde there hath created his Paradise terrestriall, and wyllled hys Gospell there firste to be preached, and he coulde also there be bozne and suffer his blessed passion. Amonges the five Zones, with the which the earth is enuironed, the temperate is moze wholesome than the others. Amonges the partes of the Worlde, as Asia, Europa, and Africke, the Geographers giue first place to Asia, aswel for the gret- nesse therof, as for the fertilitie, temperature and influence of all good things. Among so many diuers kindes of mettals Golde is the Prince, King and Cheefe: and amongs byrdes, the Eagle: amongs fyshes, the Dolphin: amongs beastes, the Lion: to be short, if wee will marke and search diligent- ly thowwe the whole frame of the worlde, wee shall finde no- thing in the same, eyther aboue or beneath, wherein wee shall not acknowledge some shewe or similitude of Royaltie. But what shal wee say of these little sillie following beasts, which wee call Bees, that haue their King, and seeme to keepe a cer- taine forme of a Kingdome, in the administration of their lit- tle Common wealth, of whom, because their manner of life shal be to vs the better knowne, wee will declare that which Plinie hath wrytten in the eleauenth booke of his *Natural hy- storie*, where hee sayth as followeth: The King of the Bees is alwayes of a faire forme, and is bigger than any of the o- ther two times. Hee hath wings lesse than the others, at the bowing of the knee, is straichte, hee flieth moze grauely, and hath a moze cleer nesse and brightnesse than the others. Hee hath a little spotte or marke in his forehead like vnto a Dia- monde. Afterwards hee addeth that the Authours be of sun- drie opinions, whither hee hath any sting or not: if hee hath (sayth hee) it serueth him onely for armour and defence, and if Nature haue giuen him any sting, shee hath denyed hym the vse thereof: but they do all agree in this point, that if hee hath any hee hurteth no person withall. And it is a maruel- lous thing, to beholde and marke what obedience the others beare

beare to him, for when hee flieth abroad, he is only alone, all the others bee about him, and compasse him in such sorte, that they will scarcely suffer him to bee seene, and whiles they are labouring hee visiteth their workes, and beholdeth the same, and seemeth to giue his aduise therein, and hee only amongst the others is exempted from labour. You shall see rounde about him his watche men and garde, who serue him by their presence, for a defence. He neuer goeth abroad without his garde: and it is easily knowne when hee will go, by a certain buzzing and noise which hee maketh a fewe dayes before his departure, euen as it were for a warning to watch the houre and time of his going: and being abroad, if it happen that hee faint in his flying, they lift him vp againe and support him on their feeble shoulders: and if hee bee vtterly ouercome with labour in his trauail, they beare him: & if it fortune hee stray and go out of his way, they wander this way and that way, flying about to make him againe, and wheresoever hee doth stay himself, all the rest campe about him: if hee bee prisoner or captiue, they do also abide captiue with him, as though it were a thing impossible for them to liue one houre withoute their King. After wards hee addeth a thing more strange and maruellous, how that they obserue the rites and customes of the funerals in such maner, that if one of them die, they draw him out of his place in their hives, and follow and accompany him, as we commonly do at the funerall of the deade: and if it happen any of their Kings to die of any contagion or infection, these little worms sorrow and lament, and haue no more care or thought to serch for their linings or nourishment, but remain stil in their hives round about the corpes, making their heauie complaints and miserable lamentations, and that with such extremitie, that if no man bring them aught to feede vpon, they will rather famishe themselves than seeke their meate. S. Ambrose that graue Authour and worthy of credit, confirming the authoritie of Plinie in the fifth booke of his *Hexameron*, speaketh in this maner: The Bees do chouse and ordaine

D.g.

them

*A marvellous
obediēce
of Bees to
their King.*

*Funerals bee
observed a-
mongst Bees.*

them a King, and when they are vnder his authoritie and gouernement they seeke not at any tyme to lyue at libertie, but haue a regarde to the prerogatiue and preheminance of their Prince and Iudge, and to the marvellous faith, feare and affection that they beare towards him, whom they haue elected and chosen. As touching his bodie (sayth hee) hee hath an excellent beautie and worthinesse of shape, in the which he doth exceede al others, with also a marvellous gentlenesse & humblenesse in manners: for if hee haue any sting (as some write hee hath) hee neuer bleth it for any reuenge: for the lawes of Nature are not wyrtten in letters, but are imprinted in mannes heart and expresse in manners: for the more nobly any man is descended of bloud, and the higher in degree of honour hee is placed, the more mercie and clemencie hee will vse towards those that do offend him. Afterwardes, continuing his discourse of the Bees, hee addeth therevnto a matter most myraculous, which is: If they do at any time (sayth hee) violate or transgresse the lawes of their Prince, they think they are condemned, and slea themselves presently with their owne stings. The like thing at this day is vsed among the *Persians*, who of their owne mere will and without constraint of any other, do sacrifice themselves by death, if by chaunce they haue offended, or declined from their duties in any thing towards their Prince or otherwayes. For there is no nation this day vnder the Sunne, that obserueth their lawes so straightly & so seuerely as they do. And yet I dare assure you, that neither the *Indians*, nor the *Samaites*, nor the *Persians*, haue not in greater estimation their Kings and Princes, than the lyttle sillie Bees haue theyr Capitaine and Cheefe, who dare not presume once to go out of their little cabinettes to searche for their meate, excepte their King goe before them. And finally they do put themselves alwayes in defence for him, & thinke it a commendable thing to aduenture their liues and to die in the defence of their Prince: and they bee so confirmed and resolved in good will and amitie towards him, that as long as hee liueth

*Bees if they
any way of-
fend the king
they kil them
selues.*

*The Persians
kil themselves
after they
haue offended*

*A maruel-
lous affectio
of beastes
that they wil
die for their
Kings.*

hee liueth, they will not render them selues subiecte to any o-
ther, but after that hee is deade to whom they did beare their
first sayth, euen as altogether desperat do presently abandon
their hiues, in token that hee who was their head and Chiefe
hath taken his ende. Beholde loe the discourse of S. Ambrose
vpon this matter. I could like wise bring forth the testimo-
nie of Vergilius, Columellus, Constantinus, and a gret num-
ber of others. But I will stay and make an ende in rehear-
sing this one matter which Maphcus Vegeus (a man of sin-
gular learning, and one that hath searched farre into the an-
tiquities of the workes of Nature) wyrteth in one dysputa-
tion wherein hee doth introduce the Sunne, the Earth and
Golde, in a controuersie for their dignities and worthinesse,
where the Earth in defence of her cause, doth set forth very
well the manners, nature and conditions of these Bees euen
after the opinion of Plinie, Aristotle, and other Authours. Af-
terwards the sayde Sainct Ambrose ioyneeth to it this that fo-
loweth, which is muche to the purpose of our matter. It is a
maruellous thing (sayth hee) howe Nature sheweth her pu-
issance, namely in things so small as these little beastes: by
whose examples shee doth not onely instruct and teach Kings
and Princes howe to indueur themselves in their offices to-
wardes their Subiectes, but also their Subiectes with what
fidelitie and reuerence they ought to honour and obey them.
And it is no strange thing therefore, if the wise man do sende
these lither and vprofitable persons to the little Antes, that
they may learne of them and by their industrie, howe to bee
carefull, where hee sayth, goe your wayes you sloothfull and
vyle persons to the little Antes, and marke well their doings
and take good hede thereto, for they, althoughe they haue no
Prince, Gouernour, or Ruler, yet alwayes they do prepare
in the Sommer time their meat, and do during their barneft
lay vp great stoare for their livings in the Winter. And in
like maner wee are secretely taught by a hidden exhortation
of Nature to beholde the conditions of these vynte beastes, and

*Maphcus
Vegeus.*

*Men may
receiue in-
structions of
Beastes.*

to take god hēde to their order and manner of liuing, to the ende that wēe endued with reason, may learne of them (that are without reason) how wēe ought to leade this our humaine societie: and by what prouidence Kings and Princes oughte to gouerne their subiectes: and contrariwise what obeyſance and reuerence is due to them. For all men by nature & reason (although they sometimes faile therin) are bound to loue and obey him that ruleth and gouerneth them: a puiſſance ſo great of nature, that ſhe extendeth her force likewise to brute and ſauage beaſtes. And Zenophon introduceth Socrates his maſter, that hēe had in gret admiration why man was found moze ingrate to hys gouerner and ruler than the brute beaſt, for it is not ſene commonly (ſayth hēe) that any other beaſt, how brutiſh ſo euer hēe bēe, to abuſe them that nourish him, noz doth reſuſe to obey to his paſtour and feeder, as man doth. For the Sheepe ſollow the voice of their Shepherd, the Swine ſollowe their Swineherde, the Birds loue them that feed them (although they bēe inſenſible and fearful) and there cannot be ſhewed any other reſon why the dominion of the *Persians* endured ſo long (as Socrates ſayeth) but bicauſe they aboue all people did alwayes honour the Maieſtie Royall, and had it in a moſt ſingular eſtimation and reuerence: and thus hēe doth conclude, that ſometimes it is moſt mēete for vs to endure & beare the imperfections of Princes, and that for a litle enoymitie wēe may not loſe ſo great a benefit. We will nowe make an end of thoſe things, bicauſe that wēe do ſpeak moze amply of them in our next Chapter. And it is not without great cauſe that I haue ioined theſe little Antes and Bees together, bicauſe amongs all other kinde of beaſtes they bēe the moſt induſtrious and moſt diligent, as Aristotle witneſſeth. Furthermoze, the Cranes bēe foules that flock and companie together (as S. Ierome writeth) when hēe ſayth that inſenſible beaſtes ſollowe their Captaines, as amongs the Bees there is an head, the Cranes ſollowe their companions in good order. Whereby hēe ſeemeth to proue that it is mēete that there bēe one

*Man more
ingrate vnto
his Ruler
than brute
beaſts.*

*Cranes haue
their captens
and leaders.*

bee one chiefe and head among al creatures, as in a Ship, one
gouverner. And Rome could not suffer two brethren to raig
together, but by the effusion of the bloud of the one the other
toke place. Likewise in the wombe of Rebecca, the two bre-
thren iacob and Esau coulde not accord, but fought together.

Genesis. 25.

And S. Ambrose in his *Hexameron*, setteth out more at large
this which S. Ierome hath sayde briefly. The Cranes (sayeth
hee) chose themselves one head or Captaine, and follow after
him in the rearewarde: they doe appoynt certayne which by
their crying shal stay the whole troupe: they watch by course,
and they that watch do holde stones in their feete, to the ende
that when they bee ouercome with sleepe, the stones falling
from them, they might awake by the noyse therof: the others
hauing theyr heads vnder their wings, do flap and take their
rest, standing one while on one legge, and other whiles vpon
the other: and their chiefe and Captaine being awaked, doth
foresce all daunger, and giueth warning to the rest. Thus it
is nowe sufficiently made playne and manifest vnto you, as
well by the testimonie of the Ecclesiastical as the Prophane
hystories, that Nature a most excellent worker (who hath
made nothing in vaine) hath giuen a certaine mark, character,
and token of preheminance and Royaltie, euen among
beute beasts, to the end that being moued and pro-
uoked with the maruellous contemplation
of these things, wee should bee the more
apte to receiue instructions how to
yeeld obedience to our Prin-
ces, Superiours and
Gouernours.

The watche
of the Cranes

(. . .)



The

The Institution

The second Chapter.

Hovve that the first beginning of Kings and Princes is very auncient, and that immediatly after the creation of the VVorlde, the people beganne to choole and elect Kings and Princes.



The first murder committed in the Worlde.

The first citie that was builded.

Genesis. 1.

The beginning of kingdomes.

Narration.

MAN being guided by nature, instructed by reason, and lead by deuine inspiratiō, did elect and choole Kings and Princes shortly after the creation of the Worlde, to the ende to lead and continue the state of their liues together wth the greater felicitie, peace & tranquillitie. For wee reade that Caine after the murdering of his brother builded a Citie and called it *Enoch*, after the name of his sonne, in the which as it is like to bee true, hee ordained one cheefe and Prince, who had the whole gouernement of the Empire, yet it may bee that hee was not called, a King, for that suche name was not then in vse. But for as much as wee haue no certaine testimonie by the Scriptures, that Caine did institute any King in his Citie, it shall bee necessarie for vs to examine and serch out moze diligently, thinges that passed after that time, by the discourse whereof, the Beginning and Originall of Kings and Kingdomes shall bee moze manifest vnto vs. A while after the Deluge, and that the greate aboundance of water was by God poured downe to wash and purifie the earth, defiled and polluted by the wickednesse and abhominable sinnes of mankinde, Belus the first king of the *Assyrians* (in the time of Thares, the father of Abraham) did gouerne the earth (as Eusebius both recount in his

in his Chronicles) and during this age the force of Arms and mightinesse of Kingdomes (wherof the hystories make mention) did beginne to appeare, as the *Assirians, Scythians, Egyptians and Bruteans*, which doth giue vs certaine testimonie of the Originall and beginning of Kinges and Kingdoms, that did increase after the flood: afterwards without any intermission, were dispersed vpon the face of the earth here and there, and haue so wel continued and prospered hitherto, that the memorie of them is eternall. The holie hystories make mention, that in the time of Abraham there was a King of *Salam*, called Melchisedech, after it maketh mention of foure Kinges, who hauing vanquished fine other Kinges and dyspoiled them of their victualles and booties, were afterwarde againe vanquished and destroyed by Abraham, who did set vpon them with a great number of his seruants. And so thys which wee do alleage here concerning all these Kinges tendeth to none other point, but to proue and declare vnto you the antiquitie of Kinges, which did appeare shortly after the creation of the worlde. It notwe resteth for vs to shew the causes why they were created and chosen to this dignitie royall, and although the hystories do affirm and produce diuerse causes and many in number, yet it shall be sufficient, to declare vnto you foure principall causes onely. The first and principal cause of the first creation, did procede vpon the marvellous wisdom (in the ordyng and disposing of things) which the people did perceiue to begin to shine and appeare in some one Citizen, at whose excellencie greatly maruelling, being caried away with the same, iudged him most worthy the administration and gouernement of their common welth. *Where* holde loe, one of the chiefeest reasons of the institution of Kinges, was (as I say) because that some one by his ciuil prudence and integritie of life, begon first to exhort and induce the people being yet rude and barbarous) to the obseruation of certaine lawes and humane pollicies, by whiche meanes they did see hee did the moze happily establishe their common

What time the force of arms was first knowne.

Kinges and Princes were ordained immediately after the beginning of the worlde.

The first cause why Kinges and Princes were chosen and instituted.

*Kings and
Princes tok
not their first
beginning of
glorie and
ambition, as
some iudge
The second
cause.*

*Scipio Afri-
canus.*

*Rome deli-
uered from
the conspira-
cie of Catu-
line by Cice-
ro.*

Iohn. 6.

*The third
cause.*

wealth, and the better rule and order the estate of their li-
ues. Which Iustinus that graue hystorian did wel understād
when he writ that the first institution of Kings and Princes
did not take his beginning of a glorie or popular ambition (as
some haue witten) but of a maruellous excellent wisdom, ex-
cellence and vertue, appearing in some one man. The se-
conde cause which did moue the people to create their Kings
and Princes, was a free and louing affection which they had
to acknowledge the good actes that any one had done to their
Commonwealth: as if any man by his magnanimitie, wor-
thinesse and puissance of armes had deliuered them from the
seruitude and bondage of any Tyranne, or had any wayes
amplified their limits, or brought any other prouinces sub-
iects or contributores vnto theirs, or by the institution of any
good lawes, had made their liues more happie and quiet, they
not willing to shewe themselves vnthankfull for the same,
but rather to gratifie such desertes, alwayes aduanced and
called these to the Dignitie Royall, and by a common con-
sent and accorde, made them cheefe gouernours and ministers
of their prouinces. As it chaunced to Scipio Africanus, who
after that he had destroyed and ouerthrowen new Carthage,
and banquished their captaine Haldrubal in Spaine, was cal-
led King (as Plutarch wryteth) although he with a maruel-
lous modestie refused it, knowing that that tytle among the
Romans was most odible. And in like manner Cicero ha-
uing deliuered Rome from the conspiracie of Catiline, was
called Father and Patrone of the Common welth. And this
hath not bene practized onely among Painims and Ethniks,
but also among the people of God, who when they perceined
that same deuine myracle of Chryst, of the multiplication of
fise loaves and twa fishes, would haue created and made him
a king: but he, whiche was not come to that ende, that any
shuld minister to him, but that he would minister to others,
refused such hono: as they would haue giuen him. The third
reason wherefore Kings and Princes were first created and
receyued

receyued vpon the Earth, grew vpon necessitie which did en-
 force the comon people to search out a way and meane by the
 which they might correct the furious, and oppresse the violence
 of the wicked, because that of nature we are prompt and in-
 clined to do euil: and alwayes some there are found so far cut
 of order, that by their wickednesse they confound and trouble
 al humane deuise and policie, and spoile (contrary to al equi-
 tie) their neighbors of their goods: and therefore to restraine
 such rashnesse, and to bypasse such outrageousnesse (to the ende
 to maintaine and conserue the estate publike, in tranquillitie
 and peace) they were constrained to make one cheefe & heade
 which should commaund them all, maintayne the good in their
 wel doing, and likewise chastise the insolencie of the wicked.
 And this self reason hath caused vs to belue that kings were
 first ordayned euen fro the beginning of the world, & euen as
 it were incontinent after our first father was cast out of Pa-
 radise terrestial: for such autoritie & preheminece was moze
 requisite at that than any other time, because violence, opres-
 sion & couetousnesse began then to raign among men. And S.
 Paule that faithfull trumpet and minister of the glozy of Iesus
 Christ, in his Epistle to the Romaines hath taught vs what
 obedience we owe to Princes and kings, and to al our Supers-
 riors, where among other matters he giueth a reason for the
 same, that is, because they correct and punish the wicked. Let
 al persons (saith hee) be subiect to the higher powers, for there
 is no power but of god, & those that be appointed of God: where-
 fore he that resisteth autoritie, resisteth Gods ordinance, and
 those that withstand the same, procure danation to themselves,
 for Princes are not to be feared for well doing, but for euill
 doing, & therefore if thou wilt not feare autoritie, thou shalt
 receiue prayse of him: for the Prince is the seruant
 of God for thy commoditie: but if thou do euil, feare him, for
 hee carrieth not the sword in vaine, but is the minister of
 God to do iustice, to the terror of those that do euil. And ther-
 fore we ought of dutie to be obedient to them, not onely for

Nothing is
 auerunt
 than Sire.

Testimonie
 of Scripture
 for obedience
 of kings and
 Princes.

Have a good
 regard to the
 meaning of
 Paule, for he
 is very ob-
 scure in these
 wordes: I
 have transla-
 ted this sen-
 tence in the
 Greek word.

C.ij.

feare,

1. Pet. ca. 2.

Herodotus
reproduced.

Reward pro-
mised & gi-
ue for vertue

The fourth
cause.

fear, but for conscience sake. Beholde loe, a marvellous doctrine of Saint Paule touching the obedience we ought to haue towards Kings and Princes and other Superiours. Let vs also marke the testimonie of Saint Peter, touching the sayde matter, who both wholly confirme the same that Saint Paule hath sayde before: Be you subiect to all manner of ordinances of man (sayth hee) for the Lordes sake, whither it bee vnto the King, as vnto the chiefe head, or to the Rulers, as to them who are sent of him, aswell for the punishment of euell doers, as for the laude and praise of that doe well. And Cicero the Ethnike in his second booke of Offices, hath shewed the same manner of Institution of Kings, where hee sayeth: It is not very like that Kings and Princes haue onely bene chosen and instituted out of the meaneest sort; (as Herodotus hath written) but of others the most wise and aunciente, to the ende they might haue iustice the better exercised. For the meane people being vered and opprest by the rich and wealthy, were constrained to haue their refuge to some one that excelled the others in vertue, to this ende, that hee should not onely defende them, the poorer and weaker sort, from the iniurie and violence of the wicked, but also conserue the one & the other in equitie and iustice. The fourth cause that hath moued the people to the Election of Princes and Kings, was for the great magnanimitie and worthinesse of Armes, they saue to appeare in some one that did deliuer them from their enemies, or else it did procede of some publike proclamation or edict, by the which it was ordained that hee who could deliuer them out of some seruitude or tyrannie, shoulde for recompence thereof bee made King, which was the cause and meane to prouoke euery one to shew themselves famous and worthy, to the ende that being stirred vpp with the hope of suche a name, as a King, they mighte trauaile to atchieue to the same, by some commendable actes or vertuous exploits. And of such Edictes and Proclamations we haue examples and sufficient testimonie in the holie Scriptures. Caes in the booke

booke of Iosua in the Proclamation, that hee who would be-
 siege the Citie of *Cariathispher*, and take it, hee would giue *Iosua. 13.*
 him his daughter Axam to his wife, which hee did accomplish
 in Othoniel, who hauing taken the same Citie, did receiue *Histories of*
 his promise. Wee haue an other like example in the fift booke *the oldc Te-*
 of the Kings, where it is witten that the same lump of flesh *stament.*
 Goliath the Philistine (who was of so monstrous a bignesse,
 that all the armie of the Israelites did greatly feare) little
 Dauid did triumphe ouer him and returned victor, hauing
 vnderstanding before, that hee which could vanquishe hym
 shoulde be honoured of King saule, and receiue great riches,
 and should haue his daughter to his wife, and also his fathers
 house should be made free in *Israel*. Wee haue likewise such *1. Reg. 17.*
 an other example of the same Dauid in the second booke of the *2. Reg. 5.*
 Kings, where hee promiseth a great aduancement to him that
 should ouerthrow the *Iebusites*, that hee shoulde in considera-
 tion therof be made chiefe and Captaine of the armie. And
 because Iacob put to flight his enemies, and possessed *Ierusa-*
lem, hee gaue him the chiefe place in his armie. Now it res-
 teth for vs to proue that the Lorde hath bene the authour of *God the first*
 this royall dignitie, and that hee himselfe hath confirmed the *authour of*
 same, as it is manifestly shewed vnto vs in Deuteronomie, *Kings.*
 when hee instructed the people of Israel by what meanes
 they ought to institute their Kings (wher it is writte) When
 thou comest into the lande that the Lord thy God hath gi-
 uen thee, and that thou dost possesse it, and remaine there, *The Lorde*
 thou shalt say: I will haue a King ouer mee as all the people *himselfe dyd*
 haue that is aboute mee, then thou shalt choose ouer thee that *choose a*
 King, which the Lorde thy God shall choose oute amongs the *king.*
 middest of thy brethren, & thou shalt not set ouer thee a strange *1. Regum. 9.*
 man, which is not thy brother. Furthermoze when the time
 of the Judges was expired and that the people of Israel with
 great pertinacitie and stubboynesse did deniaunce of the Lord
 to haue a King ouer them, hee himselfe did choose and ordeine
 Saule, whom hee found a man accordyng to his hearts desire,
 which

Apoc. 19.

Dani. 7.

Math. 2.

Christ payed
toll.

Mat. 17.

Mat. 22.

which should not haue bene thus au thorized and appointed, if Royall puissance had my liked him. But why do we bring forth any further matter to proue the authoritie of Princes, seing Jesus Christ himself was appointed King by his father vpon the holy hil of Sion, according to the Psalmist. And S. John in the Apocalips confirmeth the same, saying: He hath written on his thigh and in his garment, his name thus: King of Kings, Lord of Lords, Ruler of Rulers, and whose kingdō is eternall: as it was like wise shewed to Daniel in his visions. And all those that are appointed & chosen into the dignitie Royall, be Lieutenants of the great Monarch Iesus Christ, whose wil was to be knowne at that time, when the vniuersall computation of the world was made by Augustus, to the ende that his parents should pay tribute, and that they should acknowledge the earthly Princes for their superiours. S. Matthew doth write the like of Jesus Christ, that when he & his disciples came into Capernaum, these that did receiue the toll came to Peter & demaunded of him, doth thy master pay tribute? and he answered and sayd yea: & when he was in the house Jesus Christ came to Peter & sayd: Simon, the Kings of the earth, of whom do they take tribute or toll? is it of their children or of strangers? and Peter sayd to him, of strangers, the children then bee free (sayd Jesus Christ) yet because wee will not offend them (sayd hee) go to the Seas side and cast in thy booke, & the first fish that cometh, take him and open his mouth, & thou shalt finde a grote therein, take that & pay it for thee & mee. As likewise in an other matter hee commanded to pay to Cesar that which was due to Cesar. And note Paul to the Romanes: Al persons (sayth he) are subiect to the higher powers, for there is no power but of God: after hee concludeth, pay to Princes their tributes, for they be the Ministers of God, employing themselves therein: therefore giue them all that which is due vnto them. To whome tribute belongeth giue tribute, to whome toll giue toll, to whome feare giue feare, and to whome honour giue honour. And Paule thought

thought it not sufficient onely to make mention of this in di-
uers and sundry places, but to the ende hee woulde the better
beate it into our heads, and that hee would not haue Princes
defrauded of that which is due to them, hee chiefly recom-
mendeth the same vnto Timothe, where he layth: I doe ac-
monish you aboue all things that there be common prayers,
supplication and thankesgiuing made, for al those that be put
in authoritie, that they may leade a peaceable and quiet life in
all holinesse and godlinesse, whiche shall be pleasing and ac-
ceptable before God. And further Baruch the Propheete re-
citeth that the Iewes (being in captiuitie vnder the Babilo-
nians) did write to their brethren that were at Ierusalem,
that they shoulde pray for Nabuchodonosor king of Babylon,
and for the life of his sonne, although they were both Idolas-
ters. And S. Paule did knowe that Festus Prouost of Iudea,
did saue the Iewes, in that hee brought his cause before Ce-
sar, when he appealed before to him, and being broughte be-
fore Nero, (then Emperour of the Romanes) Paule did so
wel defende his iust cause, that hee was deliuered and set at
libertie. And nowe therefore if the Iewes haue prayed for an
Idolatrous Prince, and S. Paule hath bene deliuered from
this mischeuous enimie of our Religion by meanes of Festus
principalitie, who will doubt then, but that our Lorde is au-
thor of principalitie, and would not haue instituted the same,
but onely for the comforte and profite of man. But to make
an ende of this my long processe, if you wil beholde and mark
well the order of the Scriptures, aswel in the olde as in the
newe Testamentes, you shall fynde an infinite number of
authorities, aswell of the Propheets as Apostles, which
do plainely wytnesse howe Kings and Princes are
instituted by the mouth of the Lorde our
God, and by him selfe appro-
ued, confirmed and
authorized.

Paule com-
mandeth to
make prayer
and supplica-
tions for kin-
gs and prin-
ces.

Baruch. i.

Paule pleads
his cause be-
fore Nero.

¶ The

The third Chapter.

What the Dignitie Royall is, and how the same cannot be supplied without great trouble and danger: with a declaration what kinde of gouernement is best for the people to liue happily and quietly.



By these things before rehearsed, we haue declared and proued, that the preheminence and Dignitie Royall is marvellous auncient, and that it was receyued of the people euen at the beginning of the world, and afterward approued, authorisid & confirmed by the testimonie of the olde & newe Testaments: and that the same also dooth agree and accord in ma-

The earthly kingdoms in many things doe accorde with the heauenly kingdome.

A notable question.

ny things with the Celestiall Kingdome, in suche sorte, that there is left vnto vs certaine marks and carades of the mightinesse and worthinesse therof, as well in heauen as in earth, and generally in all beastes. We haue in like maner shewed foure reasons which haue serued vnto vs to be the most principall and chiefe, concerning the Beginning of Realmes and kingdomes: yet there is one fifth reason, which we find to be of no lesse strength and force than the other to confirme that we haue before sayde. Amongst the most auncient and renowned Philosophers that the Earth hath brought forth, there hath bene great controuersie and argument which was most meete and profitable for the people (to liue happily and in most felicitie) either to be ruled and gouerned by the prudence, authoritie and wysedome of one Prince, and hym to obey in all things iust and vertuous (which the Greeces call Monarchia)

Monarchia) or by the *Democratian* common wealth, which is the government that the people had among themselves without having any other superiour or Governour, but onely the Officers established amongst them: or else after the *Aristocratian* Common wealth, which is the government by the most noble, most rich, and sagest sorte of people: which controuersie and disputation, is no new thing, for it is more than thre thousand yeares since it first troubled & vexed the heads of the most excellent and finest wittes vpon the earth. Some haue thought it best to pferre the *Aristocratian* Common wealth, perswading that there is no government better (wel to maintaine a common wealth) than to be ruled by the aduise and counsel of many wise and sage personages, who with wisdom and discretion, for the ease and commoditie of the people, may resolve all the differences and controuersies that happen and come in question amongst them. And this kinde of government of a common wealth, is authozized by many wise and great Clarke, as by Solon, Lycurgus, Demostenes, and Cicero: and yet they haue not so wel confirmed their argumentes by any such probable reasons, that their posteritie haue receiued and allowed the same. For it is seen and found by experience, that there hath alwayes bene amongst such Governours, malice, sedes, ambitions, gathering of riches, seditions, with secrete enuie and hatred, who should best be esteemed, and who should haue the highest place of honour: which often times hath caused many affections and parcialities to be shewed amongst the people, in such sort that many Common wealthes haue bene thereby utterly made ruinate and ouerthrowen, as it is manifest in a number of histories as well of the Grekes as the Latines: and wee haue in our dayes experience thereof by many excellent and famous Cities in Italie, that are made desolate, and be now buried in everlasting forgetfulness. Other some haue preferred the *Democratian* government, which is the government of the people, where all their counsels and aduise is had together in

Monarchia,
is the govern
ment execu
ted by one.

Democratia
commonwealth.
Aristocratia
commonwealth.

The Aristocratian com
monwealth
preferred by
some opinios.

Solon.
Licurgus.
Demostenes
Cicero.

Many com
mon wealthes
haue bene o
uerthrowne
by the Aristocratian Go
uernement.

one, wherein every man with all libertie, and without feare of tyrannie or other displeasure may utter their reasons without exception of persons: but yet they do exercise their offices and dignities by course and mutuall order: and by suche manner of administration the Athenians Common wealth, and the Romans haue bene happily ruled and governed before they receyued the authoritie of Kings and Emperours. And at this day ye see the most parte of the Germanes continue this antiquitie of Gouvernement, and so do maintaine the same. And amongst all other the Venetians, which is one of the most famous and most flourishing common wealths upon the earth (which hath continued thus twelue hundred yeres sithence the first foundation thereof) is not, nor hath not bene other wise governed but after the *Democratian* government: and for this cause Dionisius Siracusanus, Eufates, Othanes, Herminius, Polidonius, and many other haue giuen place to this maner of Gouvernement, and iudged it the most profitablest way for the conseruation of humane societie. But although this opinion hath outwardely some goodly appearance, yet it is reiected and contemned amongst the most parte of good authours. For Appolonius his dissuade Vespasianus from it, as pernicious and dangerous. Cicero likewise sayth, that the common people haue neyther counsell, reason, discretion, nor iudgement. And an auncient Poet affirmeth that the counsell of the people is to be resembled to a bushe vnbounde, whiche without any care therof, is caste and strewed abroad, or to a streame of water, running out of his Channel that spreadeth and runneth every way. Demosthenes being asked what manner a thing the people was, answered, a cruell and a dangerous beast. Plato likewise named the people to be a monster with many heades: and Phalaris writing to Egisippus, did accuse the people to be a cruell monster, furious, flattering, mutable, incertaine, fraudulent, prompt to wrath, and ready to dispraise, without consideration or discretion. Aristotle in like maner in his *Ethikes* saith, that

The excellencie of the commonwealth of Venice. 1200. yeaeres since the Venetians began their first government.

The counsell of Appolonius to Vespasianus.

The counsell of the common people is like to a bushe that is vnbound and throwen abroad, or to a River that is runne out of the chanel.

that the people are the original of errors and fantasies, and
 that of all evil customs, and the very gulse of all mischief, &
 iniquitie: they be nothing inclinable to reason (as Plutarcke
 saith) because the most part of them doe vnderstand nothing,
 for they are void of all knowledge, they be vnttractable & obsti-
 nate, they couet and desire greatly innovations & changes,
 and haue in hatred the ancient thinges, they are not moued
 neither by the discipline of their fathers, nor by the autoritie
 of Spaiestrates, nor yet by the Doctrine of the sagest & wisest
 sort: and such they be, that if many of those who are now de-
 parted & repose themselves in the bowels of the earthe, were
 raised againe, they would haue many marvellous quarels a-
 gainste the ingratitude of them, because that in satisfaction of
 their desertes, & the good seruices they had done to their coun-
 tries, were by them exiled, banished, and cruelly killed: De-
 mosthenes the prince of eloquence (amongst the Grecians) and
 the very defender of their Countrey of Athens, he coulde tell
 what to say, who was vniustly banished by the Athenians,
 as though he had committed some notable offence. Socra-
 tes the moste worthiest of all the *Ethnike* Philosophers, af-
 ter he had consumed the better parte of his age, for the ser-
 uice and commoditie of the Common wealthe, was condem-
 ned in the ende to die by poison. Metellus named Numidi-
 cus, for a recompence of the victorie that he had againste Lu-
 gurch, was banished Rome because he woulde not consente
 to a Lawe, whiche they woulde then haue established. The
 renowned Hanybal, who diu (in the seruice of his Coun-
 trey) employ himselfe even to the effusion of his bloude, was
 chased in the ende by the *Carthaginiens* oute of the same, and
 constrained miserably to stray and wander thorow the
 woylde. The *Romans* did the like to that vertuous and Ro-
 ble Captaine Camillus And if euer the common welth of the
Lacedemonians were beholding or bound to any man, it was to
 Licurgus, & the *Athenians* to Solon, who although they were
 men of a moste commendable and vertuous life, yet the one

Such as haue
 bene euill en-
 treated in
 their owne
 Countries.
 Socrates.

Metellus.

Hanybal.

Camillus.

Licurgus.

Valerius.

Solon.

of them was with blowes of stones chased out of his Citie, & pulling out one of his eyes was banisht as a murtherer: & the other after he had so wel put in order the commonwelth by his good counsel & prouidence, that it was made eternal, was nevertheless by them in his olde dayes banished into the Ile of Cipres. And we might (without boꝛowing any testimonie of the prophane histories) bring forth many exāples of our own as of Eutacius Pamphilus chief Bꝛelat of Antioch, that was banished because he would not consent to the heresie of the Arrians. Pope Benedict the fifth was by the Emperoz Anthonius banished oute of Rome for the like matter. Popes did often times escape the danger of stoning by his own people. And to be shor̄te, we haue many examples that giue vs sufficient witnesse and testimonie, how perillous the furie of the people is when they be out of order: by the which things it is most manifest vnto vs that the Commonwelth which is gouerned by such monsters be no moze assured of themselves than the poze sheepe be amongst the wolues. Hauing nowe verie sufficiently declared that these first two kinds of administrations of a Common wealth, are not meete noꝛ conuenient to rule and well to gouerne any people in peace and tranquillitie: It resteth nowe to conclude with Aristotle, Apolonius, S. Ierome, S. Cyprian and many others, that the *Monarchia* which is the gouernment that is absolute, that is to say, by one only King or Pꝛince, is the most excellent, the best approued and most receyued of all: for as Homere hath writen in his *Rapside*, nothing is wel done where many do commaund. And likewise Aristotle in his *Politikes* hath iudged this forme of a common wealth (where one ruleth only) to be moze noble than the others: which thing we see and perceiue by ordinarie experience, in God our Loꝛde, who is the cause and mouer of al things, by whose only wil and pleasure all the woꝛlde is ruled and gouerned. And vnitie in all thinges hath suche a puissance and vertue, that it doeth conioyne, conserue and knit altogether: for all things in the woꝛlde

Monarchia
preferred be-
fore any o-
ther common
wealth.

Homere.

Aristotle.

wo: the vniuersally haue taken their beginning and original
of one, be maintained and defended by one: Al numbers infi-
nite that we haue dayly in vse, take their beginning of one:
All the number of Stars, which passe the capacitie of mānes
vnderstanding, are ruled and gouerned by one Sun: among
beasts there is one that ruleth and gouerneth: and so: the go-
uernment and ordyng of an Armie, it is mete to haue one to
commaund, & vpon whose authoritie the rest should depende.
And nowe to make an ende and conclude our purpose, like as
al the partes that are contayned in the frame of our humaine
bodies, be maintained, quickened and made to liue and beare
life by one soule: euen so one Prince giueth life and gouer-
neth all the Citie, wherof he is the soule. Aristotle in the .xv.
Booke of his *Metaphisickes*, doth reprobuc the pluralitie of go-
uernours in one Citie, and willeth that it be gouerned, ruled
and ordered by the authoritie of one onely Prince. And Na-
ture the better to set forth the same to our eies, hath ordained
that there be one preheminance in all kinde of things, as we
haue before sayde: as amongst the Stars the Sun, amongst
the Elementes the Fire, amongst Pettalles Golde, amongst
Graine Wheate, amongst Liquide things Wine, amongst
four footed Beastes the Lion, amongst Birdes the Eagle:
and to be short, if we will contemplate the whole order and
course of Nature, we shal find one excellencie of dignitie and
preheminance in eche kinde: and therefore of these things as
houesayd we may gather that the gouernment of any Com-
mon wealth that is exercised by one only King or Prince, is
more worthy and more commendable than the other kindes
of administrations which are ruled and gouerned by many:
but so: a counterpoise of his mightinesse and dignitie, he hath
many thornes that do enuiron his Scepter and Crowne: for
the aboundance of honours, the diuersitie of delightes, and the
number of pleasures that he doth daylie enioy, bee vnto hym
(as Aristotle wisely writeth) great enticements and baytes
to leade him to all euill, and ready meanes to cast him down

*All things
ruled by one.*

*The Prynce
is the soule of
the Citie.*

*A testimony
of Nature.*

*The scepter
and crowne
accompanied
with many
thornes.*

*A King is a
lampe which
shineth and
giveth light
unto all the
worlde.*

*Saul a good
man in the
beginning of
his kingdom*

*The raigne
of Salomon.*

*Caligula.
Nero.
Methridates*

*Of 22. kin-
ges of Iuda,
there were
but six good.*

belonges into the bottome of all vice and wickednesse (if he set not God moste chiefly before his eyes) and a King is like to a Lampe, that shineth light to all the worlde: therefore if he be blemished or blotted with any vice or crime, it is moze notable and reproveable in him, than in any other private persone: and therefore because he hath moze occasion of temptation to slide and fall than others have, in that he is highest in place, without Bidel, set amonges so many pleasures and delightes, (which be flames to stirre and prouoke wickednesse,) so much the rather he ought to trauaile & labour to eschue the same: for comonly, things lifted up, & exalted on high, are subiecte to fall and ruine, and these things may be to vs sufficiently knowne and manifest, by the recounting of many Kings and Princes, whose beginnings haue bene commendable: but their ends haue bene most abhominable and wicked. For the worthinesse of Saul hath bene renoumed by the holy scriptures, who was chosen King, by the Lord our God: but by a little and little, he began to decline from the righte way, and became a wicked man. The beginning of the reigne of King Salomon, was meruellous, but after that he gaue him selfe in pray to Women, he was deprived of the grace of God. Ioab King of Iuda, was a good man for a time, but in the ende being seduced by his men, he fell to Idolatrie. Caligula, Nero, and Methridates, did in the beginning geue a meruellous hope of their wisdomes: but the issue was suche, that all the worlde was infected with their tyrannie and crueltie, and if thou wilt haue rehearsed by order, all the whole administration of the Common wealth of the Romans, thou shalt finde that the numbre of the wicked Kings, haue alwayes surmounted very much the good Kings. But because we shall not neede muche testimonie of prophane Princes, let vs nowe come to oure owne. Of twentie and two Princes of Iuda, there is not founde but only sixe, that is to saye, Asa, Iosaphat, Ioacan, Ezechias, and Iosias, which haue continued in vertue and godnesse. As touching the Kings of Is-

raell,

Israel, if thou wilt well searche out their lyues, from Ieroboam the Sonne of Naboth, vnto the last King, which was the nyntieth in numbre, thou shalt finde that all they in generall were euill Spinisters of the Common wealth. And the Romaine gouernemente likewise which hath bene commended for one of the best and moste flourishing common wealthes vppon the Earth. For a fewe in numbre amongst them, as Augustus, Velpasianus, Tytus, Anthonius Pius, Anthonius Verus, and Alexander Seuerus, whos haue very well shewed them selues in their gouernementes, thou shalt finde a number of others all imbued with vices, and tyrannies, and that so many, that the euell Princes haue muche surpassed the vertuous and good. And if thou bee desirous to reade the gestes of the Assyrians, the Persians, Grækes, and Egyptians, there will appeare more of such as were euill and wicked Princes, than of those that were good and vertuous. I hope nowe that no man is of the opinion, that I doe pretende by these examples any thing to abase or diminishe the Royall dignitie of a Prince (vnto whose obedience I doe wholly yelde my body and life, for the worthinesse and excellencie thereof) but I desire most chæfely therby to admonishe Kings and Princes in God of their dueties and office, and that principally in respecte of so many soules (so dearely boughte) of whome they bee protectoures and defenders: And I truste no man will no more blame mee or thinke my good will straunger herein, than they will doe hys which doth admonishe any man (who is to trauaile thoro we straunge Countreies) that he shoulde take heed of the perillous and dangerous places which be in hys way, and of theues that lie by the wayes to robbe and spoyle him: or to warne those whiche doe committe them selues to hazarde of the Seas, that they should eschue and shunne certaine Rocks, vpon the whiche if by chaunce they should fall they might bee in daunger of shippe wracke. And so I haue none other meaning herein, but onely to exhort

*The Kings
of Israel were
wicked men.*

*Good Empe-
rors of Roma*

*The Assyrians
Persians.
Grækes.
Egyptians.*

*The entent
of the author.*

Princes

*The doings
of the pub-
like members
of the comon
wealth, are
more notable
and perillous
than of the
comon sorte.*

Princes and all others that be called to any dignitie and Go-
uernment, to haue their saluation in remembrance, and to be
vigilant and carefull to order and directe all their actions and
doings in the feare of God, because their dysorders are moze
notable and moze perillous than the common sort of people.
And that by these examles of the wicked sorte which wee
haue reherfed here in this booke, they should haue god regard
not to followe, euen as he that seeth another fall before him,
ought to take good heede with all diligence to eschue the lyke
danger and peril. And contrary, the examles of the good and
vertuous which wee haue also spoken of heere, may so induce
them to vertue, that they may leaue an eternal memorie af-
ter them of their good and vertuous liues: Which we ought
to leaue to our heires, rather than to leaue them great num-
bers of treasure and riches (as the wise man sayeth) the good
renoume is moze to be praysed than precious oyntment. And
likewise he sayth in the booke of wisdom, that the memorie
of the good is immortal before God and man: But when hee
maketh mention of the iudgement that the posteritie shall
haue of the wicked sorte (he sayth) they shall be cut of from al
good reporte and fame, and shall be alwayes in opprobrie a-
mongst the deade, where they shall lamente and wayle, and
the memorie of them and their seede shal be forgotten, as
though they had neuer bene: but the good and ver-
tuous (sayth he) shall liue from generation to
generation, their glozie shall be for-
uermore, and the same shall be
declared and manifest in
their children.

(111)



The

¶ The fourth Chapter.

Hovve that those which shall commaund others, ought first to master them selues, and so suppress and moderate their affections & passions, that by their good liues, they may induce those that be subiect to them, to verue and godlinesse.



Where I haue sufficiently proued by the reasons aforesayde, that vertue was the chiefe and principall cause, why Princes instituted chiefly for vertue. Kings and Princes were in the beginning elected & established : and therfore seing it is so, that they bee called to suche dignitie for the noblenesse and vertue whiche is founde in them, more than in others, they ought to laboꝝ and enforce themselves to excel in that

which is the cause of their honour and dignitie : for it is written of Saule in the booke of the Kings, & he was in the beginning of his reigne both noble and vertuous, and there was not a better man to be founde among the childezen of Israel : although in the ende by his insolencie and ambition hee loste the grace of the Lorde his God. And Cyrus King of the Persians, vpon a certaine time hauing conference with his wyse and learned Philosophers, touching the vertues matre and requisite for a King, sayde vnto the, that hee was unworthy to bee an Emperour or King, whose vertues did not excel his subiectes. Certain men being enuious of the honoꝝ that was giuen to Lyuie King of the Spartians had him in disdayne, and sayd he was made of the matter and substance that they were,

1.Kings.9.

Plutarch in his Aposth.

G. j.

*The Govern-
er ought al-
ways to be
better than
his subiectes.*

*Kingdomes
ought to be
gottē by wis-
dom, and not
by fauor and
affection.*

*Alexanders
in Igement at
his death.*

were, and was no better than others, and that hee deserved not to haue any estimation in this worlde otherwise than in respect of his Royall dignitie. To whom he answered with a maruellous discretion and comelie modestie: If I had not bene better than any of you (sayd hee) I should not haue bene chosen vnto this dignitie Royall. And Solon one of the most renowned for wisdome in al Greece, being demaunded what manner of person ought to haue the Gouvernement of the people, such a one (sayde hee) as knoweth howe to gouerne and subdue himself, before he take vpon him to rule ouer others. He that shall commaund others, ought first to knowe howe to commaund and rule himselfe: for as the wise man sayth, howe can he be good to others, that is euill to himselfe? And Philip King of Macedon doth giue vs very well to vnderstande what a Prince ought to be, in the aunswere that hee made to his sonne Alexander (when he found himselfe grieued with his father for hauing the companie of so many women, and that he had by euery of them issue: fearing leaste by the number of so many children hee might be defrauded of the kingdome) seing that thou knowest (sayde hee) that there be so many that desire to succede me in my Empire, frame thy selfe to that good order in al thy doings, and vse such wisdome and prudence therein, that by thy vertue and good desertes, and not by my fauoure and grace, thou mayest be founde meetest to be Lord and King: which Alexander (who after wards not only succeded his kingdome, but also in his wisdome) did keepe well in remembrance this his fatherly doctrine: for being demaunded euen at the very time (when he felte in his bodie the most furious & bitter anguish of death, by one of those whome he best loued and fauoured) whome he woulde after his lyfe to succede hym and inherit his kingdome, the same (sayde hee) that shall be most worthyest, iudging by this answere, that hee is vnworthy to rule and gouerne, whose vertues are obscure and vnkown: Al Princes therfore that desire to rule and commaunde others, ought

ought to haue this lesson specially in remembrance, which shall serue them as a true mirrour or glasse to loke in, and to bring them to vertue: for the first battell and triumph that they should make entring into their kingdomes, ought to be against their owne proper lusts and concupiscences, utterly to repress and beate downe the same, and wholly to cut off the causes whereof they growe, which if they leaue vndone, their stay and bridle shall be of so little force, that they will be carried away and sodainly (vnlesse they be very vigilant and haue good regard to themselves) they will be throwne downe headlong into a perpetuall Labyrinth of vice & wickednesse. But to the contrary, if in the beginning they strue & manfully fight against the same, no doubt without any difficultie they shall become victors of their affections and passions, & hauing thus vanquished them, they shall greatly triumphe that they haue so subdued and overcome themselves, & with gret felicitie and honoꝛ shall from time to time reioyce in that most excellent and glorious title & name of a King. The gret king Solomon doth likewise teach them in his Proverbs, where he sayth that the pacient man is better than the strong, & he that can rule himself is moze worthie than he that winneth cities. Agesilaus King of Lacedaemona (as ye may rede in the Greek histories) sayth oftentimes, that he which commandeth his owne affections, and doth know how to subdue them vnder the vse of reason, is worthier commendatiō, thā if by force of armes he had brought vnder his obeyesance most famous cities. Afterwardes he addeth therevnto this reason: that it is moze praiseworthy for a man to maintaine himselfe in libertie, than to take it from others, because (sayth he) that the man which doth master his owne affections, and commaund his desires, is the very defender of his owne libertie, and keepeth himselfe that he fall not into the seruitude and bondage of sin. And he that spoyleth people and overthroweth cities, doth nothing else but trouble the quiet & take fro them their libertie, gotten long afoze by comon right & course of nature.

Proverb 16.

Agesilaus
king of the
Lacedaemo-
nians.

He that sin-
neth is made
bond to sinne.

C. y.

And

Nero.

Alexander a
drunkarde.Hercules o-
uercom with
enuie and
hoordome.

Micheas. 7.

In his Eco-
nomiques.Our sinns be
our chiefe e-
nimies.

Pet. cap. 2.

And therfore what is he, that vnderstanding the bloudie life of Nero (vnder whose gouernement the *Romains* haue bene vnnaturally entreated) will not by and by haue him in hor-
 ro, and iudge him vnworthy of the empire, whose life hath
 bene so farre out of order and so infamous, that in steade to
 haue made the Royall dignitie famous, it hath bene by him
 darkened and polluted. Who is he that dare be so hardie by
 any reason to giue commendations to that great Alexander
 (who by an infamous and an insatiable desire had subdued
 and brought vnder subiection the whole worlde) & yet could
 not refraine from wrath and drunkennesse? What shal we
 say further of the inuincible Hercules, that hauing ouercome
 the dreadfulest and most monstrous things of the erth, was
 in the ende vanquished with malice and hoordome: beholde
 loe these our domestical enemies which daylie do make war
 with vs, they holde vs besieged round about, and be encam-
 ped in the inner parte of our soules. They be those whiche
 the Prophet Micheas speaketh of when he sayth our chiefe e-
 nimies be the domestical enemies, and they be those which
 we ought first wholly to destroy before wee enter into the
 campe to assaile our foraine enemies: they be those things
 also (wherof Xenophon speaketh) which will take from vs
 our most desired libertie, and bring vs into perpetual serui-
 tude and bondage. Let vs hearken therfore a little vnto the
 instructions of that diuine Philosopher S. Augustine, in the
 fourth booke *De Ciuitate Dei*, who after hee hath made a long
 dyscourse of that matter, hee concludeth in the ende as follo-
 weth: if thou arte a good man (sayeth hee) although thou arte
 bounde in bodie, yet thou doest enioy all libertie: but if thou
 be a wicked man, although thou were Lord ouer all the
 worlde, thou arte bonde not only to one man onely, but to as
 many maisters as thou hast vices: and S. Peter giueth vs
 god testimonie thereof, when he sayth that hee which suffe-
 reth himself to be vanquished of any thing is bonde to it. S.
 Iohn likewise sayth, he that committeth sinne is bond to sin.
 That

That Ethnike Cicero did well vnderstande the same, although he was not illuminated with the light of the gospel: but onely guided by a certaine instinction of nature, when he sayd in his *Paradoxes*, *Volwe* shall it be possible for any man to commaund others, that can not rule and gouerne himself, and that can not first byidle his owne desires, concupiscences, pleasures, frowardnesse, couetousnesse, and suche other like infections of the minde: therefore (saith he) he that will take vppon him the gouernement and rule over others, let him firste abandon himselfe of suche passions, whereunto he is most subiecte, and then he may the better afterwards frankly and boldly commaund others. Isidorus that graue author saith, that the name of Kinges hath taken his first denomination of this world to rule, and gouerne, but when they doe forget them selues, and omit to do their indeuor, or that they do defile this dignitie royall with wickednesse, they be unworthy the name of suche honoure. And Boetius in his *consolation of Philosophie*, by these verses which folowe, (dothe teache vs very wel the same) which I do set forth in *Spiter*, to the ende I would the better confirme the grace of the Author, who hath a better apparance thus, than in prose.

He that desires to be esteemed
and had in greate renowne,
His carnall minde must still subdewe,
and wanton lustes beate downe:
For thonghe his power extende so farre,
as vnto INDIA lande,
And of his lawes, (as they are bounde)
They still in awe doe stande,
And that the farthest ile, by sea,
Which THILE hath to name,
Should vnder his subiection be,
and he to rule the same,

G.ij.

If

If he can not his vice repress,
 and wicked thoughts restrains,
 Hee hath no power on himselfe,
 nor might in him doth raigne.

Horace in
 his Odes.

Horace likewise that great learned Poet sayth in his Odes,
 that the regiment of him who doth commaunde and subdue
 his owne affections, is more triumphant than his that hath
 the monarchie of the whole earth.

Thou shalt of thy selfe a greater conquest make,
 To subdue thy flesh, and lustes therof forsake,
 Than if by all thy mightie force and powre,
 Thou shouldest of the whole worlde become Emperour.

And Claudius that excellent Poet, wyrteth to the Emperour
 Theodosius as followeth.

If thou wilt mightie bee, flee from the rage
 Of cruell Will, and so then keepe thee free
 From the foule yoke of sensuall bondage:
 For though thine Empire stretch to Indian sea,
 And for thy feare trembleth MEDE and ARABIE,
 If thy desire haue ouer thee the power,
 Subiect then arte thou, and no Gouvernour.

If to be noble and high thy minde bee moued,
 Consider well the grounde and beginning:
 For he that hath in heauen eche Starre fixed,
 And giues the Moone hir hornes and eclipsing,
 Hath also made thee most noble in his working,
 So that wretched no way may thou bee,
 Except foule lust and vice do conquere thee.

Thy

Thy rebellious hart therefore subdue,
 Suppress the vain passions of thy minde,
 Pull vp vice by the noose, thy hart renue,
 So shalt thou great rest and quietnesse finde,
 And let not that euill thought possesse thy minde,
 Because thou arte a Prince and Gouvernour,
 That the Lawe of thee should haue no power.

Plutarch the most excellent Philosopher, being Scholes
 master to the Emperour of Rome Traianus (borne in Spain)
 in whose time the Romaine Empire was of greater posses-
 sion than it had been euer before, or hath been since : fearing
 that the Emperour should fall into some vice, and might there-
 by something staine and blemishe the excellencie of his Em-
 pire, vpon a time sent him a letter, wherein was conteyned
 that which foloweth. Forasmuch (sayth he) as Rome can not
 endure a wicked and cruell Emperour, and that the people
 are accustomed to attribute the offences of the Schollers to
 the Masters (as we haue in example of Seneca, against whō
 they did murmure for the iniquitie of Nero : and of Quinti-
 lian that was reprobued for the disorder and boldenesse of his
 Schollers) I will frankly exhort thee, that the first thing
 that thou oughtest to do, for the conseruation of thy Empire,
 is to reforme thy selfe, and to enter into the inner partes
 of thy soule, and to pull out by the rootes the vices that are
 there remaining besieged, and them by violence to euer-
 throwe and beate downe. For if thou do not forseeke the same
 in time, in stead of commaunding thou shalt become a bonde
 man all the dayes of thy life : for the victorie which we haue
 of our selues (without all comparisen) is moze woorthy than
 that which is gotten of others : and then after thou hast sub-
 dued and beaten downe thine owne affections and desires,
 thou mayst freely take vpon thee to commaunde others. By
 which saying & others before, are manifestly declared that it
 is not

Plutarch
 mayster to
 Traiane the
 Emperour.

Plutarch's
 epistle.

is not the chiefe poynte that belongeth to a Prince (onely to rule or commaunde men) but it is requisite that if he will be obeyed of others, firste to maister him selfe, and ouercome and vanquish his owne desires and affections, otherwise if he geue him selfe ouer as a pray vnto wickednesse, he shalbe thought as farre vnworthy the Scepter and Crowne, as he in no poynte dothe merite to be called a man.

¶ The fifth Chapter.

Hovv that if the Prince desire to haue his Common welth to be wel gouerned, it is moste meetest and necessarie, that he him selfe obey and obserue the lawes, that by his good examples he may teache the vulgare and common people to do the like, and liue in feare and obedience towarde him.

*The Prince
ought to obey
the lawes.*



If the Prince doe desire to haue the comon welth wel ruled and gouerned, it is necessarie that he render himself obedient and subiect, as well to his owne proper lawes, as to others ordained and established by his ancestors; and namely to such as do concerne the reformation of manners, which shal no wayes derogate his dignitie Royall: For there is nothing that doth further so much, or better induce the people to make themselves obedient to the lawes, as when they see their Prince first of all endeavour himselfe to obseruation of those things which he hath straightly commaunded. And therefore Solon that great lawmaker of the *Athenians*, being

he demanded what was best for the government of a city, he answered redily, That the Prince should obserue & keepe his owne lawes. Iesus Christ perceyuing the Scribes and Pharisees to burden the poore people with rigorous commandments (of the which they them selues did not obey one) did reprove them grieuously, and sayd to them: You bind heuie and insupportable burdens vpon other mens shoulders, but you your selues will not once put to your finger. And so; as much (as Cicero sayth) that the heart, the minde, the oracle and answer of the common welth is placed in the lawes and ordinances which are made for the publike administration, and do contayne as it were the seat and mansion house of the same, it is most necessarie that the Prince do render himself obedient to the lawe: for the authoritie and force of a Prince both depend vpon the conseruation of Justice: and ther is nothing that doth more set forth the maiestie of a Prince, than that he do submit himselfe to the reason of the law written.

Augustus Cesar Emperour of Rome, had the lawes in such estimation and reuerence, that hauing on a time broken the same (being ouercome with choller for a iuste cause) was so sorrowful for the same, that he thought he should haue died.

Augustus Cesar an earnest obseruer of Lawes.

The same Augustus on a time made a very strait and rigorous lawe for the punishment of adulterie, after which lawe made, he had a daughter named Iulia, whose chastitie was in suspicion, and in the ende for hir incontinencie exiled: but as for hir offence might be well verified, there was a Gentleman suspected to haue had the companie of hir in dishonour: which thing the emperour vnderstanding, as well by the common bruit as by other coniectures that he had gathered, was constrained to dissemble the matter for auoiding the slander of his sayd daughter: but as fortune gaue occasion, the gentleman by chance encountred the Emperour, and hauing no way to escape but must needs meet him, Cesar being pricked by iust indignation to see before him the violator of his daughters honour, took him by the haire of his head, saying: thou

A iust cause of anger of a vile Cesar.

vile traytour hast dishonored mee and my daughter : but this bolde villaine knowing the honour and beuntie of this good Prince, sayd vnto him with a stoute countenance : Celar, wherfore dost thou condemne mee, & thus execute Sentence without any manner of proces serued vpon mee, as though I were condemned of the offence : thou doest contrary to the lawes and ordinaunces made by thy selfe. When this good Emperour being amazed in himself and ashamed of this light faulte that he had committed against his lawes, went home to his Pallace, and continued two dayes without eating of any thing, so that hee was nere deade for sorrow. We haue also an other maruellous example (which may seme hard of digestion to those who haue not knowledge to vnderstande what person he representeth that sitteth in the chiefe place of dignitie, nor knoweth not what discretion and duetie oughte to be obserued to wardes the superiours) of Fabius that yong man, who exercising the Consulship, seeing one daye his father comming on horsebacke approaching nere the Consistorie, commaunded sodaynly one of his officers, that he should go and will him to lyght of his horse and go on fote, which this good olde man did with much payne (for he was so olde and croked that he could scarcely hold himselfe vpryght) wher- at all the rest of the Counsell were ashamed for the insolency of this yong man, that seemed to beare so small reuerence and honoꝝ to his aged father : but the good olde man made so good an interpretation of this his Sonnes doinges (knowing that he which kept that place ought straightly to regarde the lawes and ceremonies obserued of olde custome to the Senate) that incontinently after hee was out of that place, with a ioyful countenance in the presence of the Senate went vnto him, being as it were halfe deade, and embraced hym in his armes, saying vnto him : My sonne, I doe accept thee for my deare childe, for I know and see thou art worthy to exercise the Consulship of Rome, because thou hast so good knowledge to defende the maiestie of an Emperour (which thou doest

*A great lene
of the Father
towards the
Sonne.*

doest represent,) and also the auncient statutes of our predecessors, which will that the Emperoꝝ himself shal obey the lawes made and ordained by his forefathers. The memorie of Zeleucus King of the *Locresians*, shal also be had in eternal memorie among al men: who after he had made and instituted many good & vertuous lawes for the gouernement of his common wealth, among others he ordayned one, that he who should bee taken in Aduourie, shoulde lose both his eyes: His owne sonne by euill fortune within certayne dayes after, was taken offending in the same, and being condemned for it (according vnto the Lawe and ordinance made by his father) was adiudged to lose both his eyes: but the people hauing a regarde vnto the defects of his good father the King, would haue dyspensed with the sonne, and made humble request vnto him, that it would please him to remitte his offence. This good olde man did all that he could by extremitie to resiste their request, shewing them that according to his lawes he ought to haue both his eyes pulled out: but in the ende being ouercome with the importunate desires of the people, minding to satisfie them in some parte, (and yet to kepe his lawe inuiolate) hee caused a Theatre to be erected in all their presence, and him selfe and his sonne being mounted vpon it, with an inuincible constancie, firste pulled out one of his owne eyes, and after incontinently pulled out one of his sonnes. So in vsing this maruellous kind of equitie, hee was mercifull to his sonne, and very seuer to himselfe, and all to the ende hee would giue a testimonie to those that should succede him, howe Princes ought firste to put to their owne hands to the worke, and to obserue their lawes, as thou mayst see in these verses following.

Zeleucus;

Valerius
Maximus

Zeleucus gaue lawe to his Subiectes all,

That taken in aduourie who should be,

Should loose his eyes: but loe, such happo did fall,

The Kings owne sonne, into that snare came he:

H. y.

Zeleucus

The Institution

*Zelenus bids that lawe be done straight way,
Without regards: The people pardon pray:
The King that woulde his lawe in force to runne,
One eye from him, another from his sonne,
He takes, deserving thus the rather,
Name of iust Iudge, and piissfull Father.*

*Such Prince
such Sub-
iect.*

*Antigonus
writeth to
Zeno.*

And Licurgus the lawmaker to the *Lacedemonians* (so much commended in the hystories) neuer made any lawe, wherevnto he did not first render himself obedient. And Agelilaus king of the *Lacedemonians* likewise, among his most commendable Sentences, was accustomed to say that he desired no other commoditie of his kingdome, but wholly the aduancement of his common welth, and that it seemed (to his iudgement) more profitable for the same to be ruled and gouerned by good and wholesome lawes, than by good Princes: because Kings being overcome by their affections, may erre and go astray as wel as others, of whose doings the lawes wil take smal place: And it is most certain (as the deuine Plato saith) that as the Prince is, such is the people: And also Ecclesiasticus sayth, as the Iudge of the people is, such are the Ministers: And in the booke where Cicero doth interprets those Lawes which the xij. tables doe containe, there is one lawe writtten that doth straightly commaunde all Magistrates to liue discretely without offence, to the end they may be examples to guide and shewe the wayes to others, where afterwards he addeth to these wordes: Euen as (sayth he) by the viciousnesse and conetousnesse of Princes the city is infected, so likewise by their continency it is reformed and amended: after he concludeth: If thou wouldest search (sayeth he) the doing of the old world past, thou shalt find that as the princes did alwayes change their manners, so did also the inhabitants of their prouinces. Antigonus King of the *Maccedonians*, writting to Zeno (as Laertius teacheth) after many purposes alleged of doctrine and felicitie, he brought in for his conclusion,

son, that like as the Pastor shall be brought up and enriched with vertues, euen so shall his flocke be. And it is euen very so, for Herodianus writeth that the citizens be but as the fig-
nets of the Prince, for they doe nothing but as they see them do. Agesilaus also named (the very mirrour and patern of vertue) although he was King of the *Lacedemonians*. yet nevertheless he would be seen oftentimes in the mids of winter (being olde and crooked) go rounde about the towne without hauing any apparell vpon him, and many one marvel-
ling that he could endure it, did demaund curteously of hym, wherfore he did so: to this ende, sayd he, that youth shoulde learne by mine example to harden themselves to laboꝝ, and patiently abide all aduersities that shall happen vnto them. We reade also in auncient histories, that the same ambitious Monarch Alexander being in the farthest part of *Africke*, was constrained to be thre dayes together himselfe and his whole armie without anie thing to eate or drinke: after ward hauing gotten vittuailes, he would see that all his souldiours should first be satisfied before him self would once touch any meate: His great frende Parmenio being asked at thys his great patience in so bearing to eate, demaunded of him the occasion why he did so, to this end (sayd he) that my people seeing a prouise of my patience in so dangerous a place, should be sharpened hereafter the moze patiently to beare and endure the rigoures and extremities of the Warres. But why doe we consume so much time to rehearse the examples of the Ethnikes, seeing that Iesus Christ himselfe (a witnesse irreprocheable) did first begin to put the ordinaunce of the lawe in exercise, before he toke vpon him to teache others, as he sayde he came not to breake the lawe but to fulfil it. Hearken a litle to that which that zealous man of Justice S. Paule hath written, speaking to those that were the breakers of the lawes which they themselves had made and established: thou (sayth he) that teachest others, dost not thou therein teach thy selfe, and yet thou dost preache that a man

Herodianus

A marvelous
abstinence
of Alexander.

Act. cap. 1.

Math. cap. 23.

Roma. 2.

Aristotle.

*The Tyrant
gouerneth
none other-
wayes but by
his vnbride-
led desire.*

*Aristotle in
his politiqua*

*A vertuous
answere of
Alexander
to a Flatter-
er.*

shal not rob and thou thy self dost rob : thou sayst that a man ought not to comit adultery, and thou thy self dost break wedlock : thou hatest Idols, and yet thou committest sacrelege : and glorifying thy self in obseruing the law, thou dost dishonour God in breking the same. Aristotle maketh none other difference between a King and a Tyrant, but that a King obeyeth the lawes, & leadeth the course of his life after the ordinance therof, and a Tyrant folowing the frailnesse of his owne wil, breaketh and violateth the Law, and is not gouerned by any other puissance, than by his vnbideled desire and appetite, by the which being prouoked he peruerteth and corrupteth al order of Justice. After he ioyneth that which followeth, worthy certainly of perpetuall memorie. And if thou wilt (sayth he) consider Man in his dignitie and perfection, he is the most meruellous, most excellent, & most noble of all other creatures: but if thou wilt consider him being at libertie and without the vse of the law, thou shalt find him the most monstrous and abhominable of al others. And Cleobolus one of the wisest men of al Greece, sayth, he ought to vse least libertie that hath more than another. A Philosopher of Persia by a brieft answer that he made to King Cambises, giueth a worthy example of the difference betwene a King and a Tyrant. King Cambises asked him if it were lawefull for hym to ioyne in mariage with his Syster, there is (sayde he) no Lawe that doth permitte it, neuerthelesse Kings and Princes do what pleaseth them. An other Dynion of the Courte, desirous to flatter and please King Antigonus, (sayde vnto hym) that all thynges were lawefull and honest for Kings, yea (sayde the King) verpe well, to the barbarous and ignorant people, but to vs that haue pollytique knowledge, apt vnderstanding, capable of Prudence and Justice, and that are instructed and nourished in good letters, there is nothing lawefull to vs which shall not be both good, honest and vertuous. I will tell you one notable thing more of this King, seeing it is in purpose to speake of him : being a puissant Ruler

ler in *Asia* and the successor of Alexander, on a tyme he fell sicke & was so euil handled by the rygour of his disease, that there was thought no hope of his life; but after that he was amended of his sicknesse, hys friendes began to reioyce of his health, to whome he sayd: well my friends, let no man lament the euill lucke of my sicknesse, for amongst other incommodities whiche it brought me, it dyd me one specyall good turne, in making me to know that I am a mortal man, and so farther it hath made me to vnderstande that for that greate prosperitie and puissance that I haue had, I ought not to loke so hygge, nor to exalte my selfe as I haue begon, because that this prosperitie is no permanent thing. But to returne againe to our purpose, Kings ought to be the first to put to their handes vnto the worke, and giue vs example by their good lines in what reuerence and estimation we ought to haue their Lawes & statutes: for in so doing, they shalbe honored and feared of their subiectes, & they will haue them in such greate admiration for their god works, that they wil not be so hardy to offende or commit any notable crime: for there is nothing that dothe more prouoke and stirre the common people to vertue, than when they do see their chiefe and Prince the firste that putteth himselfe in exercise of well doing, who is as it were a Theatre and glas that al the world should behold, or as common fountaine wherat al the world should drawe water: or as a lampe that should giue lighte to all men. But to the end that we shold not seeme to speake these things without authority, mark the sayings of the wise man in the Ecclesiastiques, who sayth: as the Gouernour of the citie is, such are the inhabitants therof, the foolish King shall lose his people, and the Cytie shall be well inhabited when it is gouerned by the wise, & if we wil enter into the secretes of the Scriptures, we shal finde that there haue bene many wicked kings which haue been cause of the ruine & destruction of their people. And that this shal be found true, you may read that Ieroboam, king of Israel setting vp calves of gold,

*Sicknesse is the cause ofie times that we do know the-
flues.*

*There is no-
thing that
dothe more
stir and pro-
uoke the com-
mon people
to vertue, than
to see the
Prince the
first to put it
in execution.
Eccle. .o.*

: dyd

1. Kings. cap.
13.

*Enil & Wic-
ked Princes
hane alwayes
overthrowne
their people.
4 Kings cap
25.*

did cal his people from the honoring of God, and caused them to commit Idolatrie, by meanes whereof these poore people became wicked, and so; the same his wickednesse his owne house was pulled by by the rotes, and utterly made ruinate upon the face of the erth, and so the people of Israell walked in al those ways of wickednesse that Ieroboam did set forth. Let vs go a little farther, we shal finde that many Kings of Iuda, as Ahas, Manasses and Amon, by their euill example caused the people to commit Idolatrie, and so; their execrable offences the Lorde promised them to diuert and ouerthrowe Ierusalem, and to sende grienous persecutions vpon the people of Israell, which he did afterwards. Beholde how euill guides be as the trumpets that do stirre al strife, and the torches that do set on fire the poore people to all vice and wickednesse. And if by chaunce there be any sounde amongs the people which are not so far gone astray as others be, and that will not be induced to wickednesse by the euill conuersation and example of their Prince, yet neuerthelesse perceiuing their King and Prince to be a vicious and wicked person, they will not giue him the obeyfance and hono; that is due to him: so; wickednesse and sinne carieth ordinarily with it this commoditie, it will cause him that doth commit the same to be counted an abiecte, and to be contemned of all men. But to the contrarie, there is neyther Scepter, Diademe, Purple, or other wo;ke of Nobilitie that shall make the Prince to be more esteemed, and his subiectes to be more prompt and apte to obey him, than the integritie of life, temperature of manners, and brightnesse of vertue.

(...)



¶ The sixth Chapter.

Hovve that a Prince for his better perfection in the ordering and directing of his life, ought specially about all other things to be learned and also to haue continuall conference and Counsel vvith sage and vvise mē, vvich shalbe as the sinnevvies and life vvherby his Realme shal be sustained and maintained: vvherin also is made diuers and many discourses, of the honour and reuerence that Princes in the olde time haue borne: tovvardes learning and knowvledge.



Then as we for our part desire & wish that the Prince for his better perfectiō shuld be endued with vertue and godlynesse, alwayes embracing the same as a dayly companion: So is it expediente for him that he be enriched & beautified with Learning and science, that by the aide thereof he may be made more apt and meet to rule and govern his Subiectes. Vegetius in

his booke of the Arte of warre, (among other things) willett that a Prince shoulde haue singular knowledg and vnderstanding in all Sciences and learning: and the same is confirmed by the wise man where he saythe that the sage and learned Prince is the stay & supporter of the people: & likewise he writeth in the proverbes that the wise and learned man shall enioy the gouernement. It is then very needefull for a Prince to be furnished with all suche knowledg as shal be conuenient for the well ordering of his affaires: as

VVised. 6

*Knowledge
requisite for
Princes.*

I. i.

with

Salomon.

with prudence wisely to rule, discretion orderly to command those things that are meete and conuenable for his honoꝝ and dignitie: continual vigilance ouer his common welth: tempered liberalitie differing from couetousnesse & prodigalitie: Noblenesse and maiestie in his doings, with equitie: good aduisement and sober deliberation in al his enterprises and attempts, as wel in peace as warre. Salomon in his Proverbs sayth, that the obtaining of wisdom is much better than any other profit or commoditie that a man may receyue, bee it eyther in marchandise or in any other trade, and the benefit that groweth therof is much more precious than the pure gold, and is of more greater price than any worldly goods or riches: and saith also ther is nothing in this world that a man can wishe or desire which eyther may or ought to be compared to it. For by this wisdom a man maye wynto himselfe immortall renoume in repressing and beating downe, and as it were bringing within certayne limittes, the vnbzobled and greedy desire of insatiate couetousnesse (wherwith not onely Princes and great Monarches in the olde tyme were infected in coueting to enlarge their kingdomes and dominions, but also al other men in their actes & humaine deuises & inuentions, (& al to make their names to be famous & cuerlasting) & the true and very meane to attayne thereunto is this wisdom which is most meetest to bee in a Prince: for a Prince in a common welth representeth that which the eye dothe in the frame of mans bodye, for the eye directeth and ruleth all the parts thereof, and doth preserue the same that it shal bee wythout all daunger and peril, and therefore if it chaunce the vertue thereof to bee debilitated, that it can not do his office and induoꝝ, the rest of the body is lyke to peryshe and be destroyed. So maye we iustely speake of a Prince that is blynded wyth hys owne concupiscences and lustes, for both hee hymselfe and those whome hee gouerneth, shall bee in daunger of peryll and ruine. Let vs note a little the counsell of this greate King Salomon, one who dyd taste

*The Prince
is the eye of
the common
wealth.*

Salomon.

as well the pleasures as the thornes and troubles that doe
 alwayes accompany a crowne and royall Scepter, when
 hee sayth, Hearken ye Princes of the people, (if yet doe de-
 lyghte in Kingdomes and Scepters,) embrace wisdomē
 to the ende ye maye Raygne for ever : Love the lyght of
 wysedome you that be rulers over the people : the multi-
 tude of the wyse, is the health and comfote of the Earth,
 and a wise and sage King is the strength of the people : and
 not contente to speake this once, but hee rehearseth the same
 in his Ecclesiasticus, saying : the welfare of the people, con-
 sisteth in the wisdomē of the King : as contrarie the ruine
 of them in hys follie. After hee saythe, cursed is that lande
 whereof the Prince is a chyld: furthermore wisdomē spea-
 king herselfe, cryeth out with a loude voyce and saythe : by
 mee Kings do raygne, and the Counsellors make iust lawes,
 by mee Princes beare rule and gouernmente, and all the
 Iudges iudge the earth. And the Lord amongst other things
 will that the King shall be fortified, and made strong with
 the doctrine in Deuteronomie, where it is sayde : when the
 King is set vpon the seate of his Kingdome, he shall wyte
 himselfe out a copie of this Lawe in a booke before the Pri-
 es and Leuites, and he shall haue it with him, and he shall
 reade therein all the dayes of his life, that hee may learne to
 feare the Lorde his G O D, and to keepe all the wordes of
 that lawe, and the ordynances therein, so to do that his hart
 aryse not aboue his brethren, and that hee turne not from
 the commaundementes, neyther to the ryghte hande, nor to
 the lefte hande, but that hee may prolong his dayes in his
 Kingdome, hee and hys chyldren in Israell.

VVised. 6.

*The staye of
the common
wealth doth
consiste in
the wisdomē
of the Prince*

Prouerb. 8.

*Cursed bee
that Realme
whose prince
is a Child.*

Deutre. 17.

Plato that deuine philosopher, knowing verie well
 that no humane gouernment coulde be established with-
 out the vse and knowledge of sciences (sayde,) Common
 wealthes shall be well and happily gouerned, when they
 are gouerned by wyse and learned men, or by those that
 shal employ their studies to wisdomē.

Plato.

I.ij.

And

*The law-
makers.*

And if ye wil wel consider the ordering of the auncient com-
mon welthes in the olde tyme, ye shall finde that they haue
bene in moze happie estate when they were gouerned by
the Philosophers themselves, and did receiue their lawes &
ordinances, than by any other meanes : as *the Meteclemians* by
Pitachus, the *Cretenians* by Pithagoras, the *Egyptians* by Mer-
curie or Olyris, the *Bractiens* by Zoroastes, the *Perians* by
Oramalus, the *Carthagenis* by Caremundus, the *Atheniens* by
Solon, the *Sitheans* by Lamolxis, the *Cretensiens* by Minos, the
Lacedemoniens by Lycurgus, the *Romans* by Numia Popilius
the *Greekes* by Orpheus, & the *Hebrues* by Moyles & Aron. A-
mong al other, that flourishing comon wealth of the *Romas-
nes* hath euer been stozed with many sage & wise gouerners,
& hath been ruled by diuers Princes excellently wel enriched
& beutified with al kind of learning, knowledge & vertue: it
is a meruellous thing to reade (whiche seemeth in these our
dayes rydulous) how that many Kings and Emperours in
timespast haue them selues ministred iustice to euery man,
& did exercise the estate of Iudgement in their owne proper
persons, among which that noble Emperour Augustus Ce-
sar, Emperour of Rome is worthe perpetual memozy, for he
was continually busied, in hearing the debates and contro-
uersies of his subiectes, and to do them righte and Justice, ac-
cording to the equitie of the cause, so as we reade in many
histories he continued ordinarily, in that trauell all the day
long vntill nyght, and that with such zeale as that if he cha-
nced at any time to be diseased or sicke, yet he would haue his
bed to be set nere to the common place of Justice, or else in
his owne house in suche a place that all men myght haue ac-
cesse vnto him (as Suetonius the gret Greeke authoꝝ witnes-
seth in rehearsing his lyfe.) And when his deere frendes dyd
at any time reprove him for his great trauel: he answered &
an Emperour ought to die standing on foote with trauel, and
not in his bed at his ease. Vespasianus also exercised himself
in the like things, whereunto he was so affectionated, that he
was

*Augustus
Emperour
and Iudge.*

*Sucto. ca. 33
The Empe-
rour ought to
die with tra-
uell.*

was not only contente to employ thesame good wil and diligence to the *Romains* only, but also dyd impart this his laboꝝ and industry to other pꝛouinces his neighbors. And (as *Philostates* li. 7. wꝛyteth in the lyfe of *Apollonius*) *Domitianus* hys sonne was also paynefull and diligent in those matters, soꝛ he imployed the better parte of his lyfe, to heare and determine the controuersies betwene party and party. *Aurelius Victor*, Emperoure, was also a iuste Judge and a bigelant. *Traianus*, one of the most vertuous emperours that euer hath bene, toke great pleasure in the lyke exercyse, to qualifie by Justice the strifes and discentions of the people (as *Dion Casius* doth witnesse in hys wꝛyting of him.) I coulde wꝛyth these fewe in number reherse many others, as *Iustinianus*, *Anthonius*, *Commedus*, *Saracula*, *Frederick*, and *Marcus Aurelius*, of whome the memoꝛie is eternal amongst men. *Plutarchus* reherseth in his *Apothegms*, that *Alexander* was so singularly affected to the seat of iudgement, as that on a time amongst others, when a *Promotoꝝ* (accused a certaine man of an heynous offence) he began rebely to stoppe one of hys eares, and being demaunded why he dyd so, he answered & sayd, I wil reserue the other eare to heare the party accused. *Phillip* his father being in the seate of Iudgement, ther came a certaine man befoꝛe him which had a plee agaynst one called *Machetas*, and hee not giuing god eare to the matter dyd very lyghtly condemne *Machetas* without hauyng any good consideration of his cause: this *Machetas* thinking that hys cause deserued not such a Sentence, and sawe withall hym selfe deceyued in the Iudgement thereof, (knowyng also the great wysedome of *Phillip*) was greatly astonied and sayd: I doe appeale from this youre Sentence (noble Emperour) wherewith the Emperour entring into choller, demaunded of him: befoꝛe whom thynkest thou to appeale from this my Sentence: (soꝛ it was an obvous thyng to appeale from the sentence of the Emperour) I doe appeale sayd *Machetas*, befoꝛe thy selfe: that it woulde please thee to consider better

Philostates
li. 7.

Suetonius vpon his life.

Dion Cassius.

Emperors & Judges.

Valpasianus,
Domitianus

Traianus,
Adrianus,

Aurelius,
Anthonius,

Maximus,
Commodus

Pertinax,
Seuerus,

Saracula,
Iustinianus,

Fredericus,
& *Charles*

the gret haue
al exercised

the seate of
Iudgement.

Machetas
did apeale to

the sentence
of the Empe-

ror before
himselfe.

the

*Reformatio
of Sentence.*

*Booke. 17.
of his En-
dos.*

*Plutarque
vppon his
life.*

*The Kings
of the Persi-
ans did al-
wayes iudge
the causes of
the people.
Excellēt mē.*

*The meane
sorte.*

the truth of my cause. Thys good Emperour being moued wpth his persuation, began attentiuely to consider and vnderstand better the effect of his proceſſe, and finding that hee had ſayled in the iudgement thereof, hee woulde not reuoke his ſentence, but payed Machetas (out of his owne Coffers,) the ſum of money that hee condemned him to pay. Beholde loe, the vertuous exerciſe of theſe auncient Emperours and Kings. And Virgilius alſo the firſt latin Poet, both ſpeake of Priamus, howe hee himſelfe did ſyt in place of iudgement, and ſhewed iuſtice to al men that came beſoꝛe him. And Ageſilaus that was King of the *Lacedemonians*, did accuſtome to do the lyke. And thys vertue in rendyng Ryght and Juſtice thus to al men, dyd wyne ſuche gloꝛie to thoſe aunciente Emperours and Kings, and dyd ſo beautifie them, that the *Persians* woulde not receiue any King to raigne ouer them, that did diſdayne to ſit in Iudgement, as *Phylarcus* hath wyrtten in *Theneus*. And *Heliodus* an auncient *Graeke* Poet wyting of thoſe things, ſayth, that there is thꝛee manner of people in this woꝛlde, of the which one ſoꝛte of them are indued with good wit and vnderſtanding, and are able of themſelues to imbrace the good and lawefull things, diſpoſe the preſent, and foꝛeſee thyngs to come, without any inſtruction of others: and theſe ſoꝛte of people do keepe the firſte place in perfection, and are counted moſt excellent amongſt men. The ſeconde kynde of men are of a moꝛe weaker and debile nature, and not of ſo ſubtil a ſpyte as the others, noꝛ are not able to gyue iudgement of any thing of themſelues, but the mettall of them is very good & plyable, & they haue diſcretion to obey the good counſel of others, & to followe the opynion of the wyſe and ſage perſonages, and will moderate and rule themſelues after their aduiſe and counſell: and though they be not of ſo excellent a degꝛee of wit as the firſt, yet nature hath ſeamed them to do ſome thing that is good: and they keepe the ſeconde place of honoure and prayſe. The laſte kynde be thoſe whiche are altogether careleſſe, and will not

not learne any thyng, no, no; haue patience that any man shall instructe or admonish them of their profit, no; will not haue access to any booke or other knowledge, whereby they maye learne to be more wise and discrete: And these laste kynde of monsters be vnprofitable, and vnnecessarie for the vse of the workes of nature, and so hee concludeth, they are the very worst of all people: and thus Hesiodus by this hys doctrine meaneth none other thing, but to condemn those whiche passe their liues as it were in a stas dowe, and feede them selues wyth Idlenesse (nourse of all vice, and wickednesse) where otherwayes they might imploy their time to studie to atchiue to learning and knowledge, in the which being well instructed, they myght bring some singular profyte in theyr Countrey and common wealth. But to returne agayne to our purpose, it is a maruellous thyng to reade in what estimation and honour, the auntyent Emperours, Kings and Monarches, haue had learning and knowledge, and in what honour and reuerence, they alwayes had the learned and wyse men. It is founde in writing in the lyfe of the Emperour Anthonius (of whom wee haue spoken heeretofore) that hee gaue to Apianus so many Ducats of golde, as a greate booke whych he made of the properties and natures of ffishes, dyd contayne lynes. The Emperoure Traianus did so greatly honour Dyon the Philosopher, that whensoever hee went into the campe, hee alwayes had him with him in hys owne charyot, and so woulde bring him home agayne with that estimation, euen into Rome, entring there with all his triumphe. The Emperour Gracianus readyng certayne verses of Ausonius, preferred him to the Consulshippe, whiche was the greates dignitie next vnto the Emperour. Octavianus the Emperour in that great warres that he had against Marcus Anthonius, in Egypt, woulde not destroy Alexandria, one of the most famous cities in the world, and when his friends demaunded of him, wherfore he forbare to destroy the same, for two causes

*Men of a
peruerse na-
ture.*

Hesiodus.

*An:artelous
liberalitie of
an Emperour.
In what esti-
mation lear-
ning was a-
mongst the
auncients.*

(sayde

*A marvelous
liberalitie of
a couetous
man.*

*480. thousand
Crownes ge-
uen for one
booke.*

*Alexander
made a pil-
lowe of the
Iliades of
Homere.*

(sayde he) the one bicause Alexander did bulde it, & the other for the loue of the Philosopher Arrie which was there: this Emperoz was so affected towards good letters, that he made Cornelius Gallus Trybune of y^e people, only for that he was an eloquent Poet. Arianus for a certaine hystorie which he wrote of the gestes of Alexander, was created Consul by the Emperoz Adrian. And Anthonius Suetonius writeth a thing almost incredible in the life of Vespasianus, that although he was a man all overcome with Couetousnesse, yet he sauored Arts & Sciences so much, that he gaue to the master of euery schole yearly a thousande & five hundred Crownes. Atheneus writeth in hys booke Synosophistes, that Aristotle for hys booke that he wrote of the nature of beasts had of Alexander big. hundred Talents of gold which were worth (after the computatio of Bede in the booke of Asse) foure hundred & four score thousand Crownes, which Plinie doth confirme, in saying, that Alexander vppon a feruent desire he had to see the same booke ended, sent many thousandes of men throught out al Greece, Asia and Affrike, with expresse commaundement that al men shold obey them in al those things that they desired touching fouling, fishing, hunting, hauking, & other such like exercises, and all to the ende the properties and natures of al beasts might be the better searched out. And if Homer the only Phenix of al the Creek Poets, had liued in the time of Alexander, I pray you in what honoz and estimation had he been, seeing he was so iealous of his Iliades, that he made a Pillow thereof, and did sleepe vpon it in the night: & when vpon a daye a certaine man brought vnto him (for a present) a Coffer wherein Darins dyd put his sweete and moste precious oyntmentes, hauing receyued it, he sayd: this Coffer I will make the treasurer of a more excellent Treasure: and presently he caused the same workes of Homere to be layde in it, in the whiche he tooke so greate pleasure, that euen amongst hys weyghtie affaires, he employed himselfe certaine houres in the day to reade the same: and one time reading

ding therein (amongest other thinges) the commendations and vertuous exploytes of Achilles, he lamented his euil fortune that he had not bene bozne in the time of Homere, that he might haue had such a Trumpet to set forth his actes and commendations, as he was. Pompeius an excellent captain amonges the *Romaines* after the victoꝝ which he had against Methudates, had neuer quietnesse in his minde, til he had visited Possidonius the Philosopher in his sicknesse, wherof he was aduertised, and not contented onely to visit him in person, but the moꝝe to honour him, commanded that the standards and imperiall ensignes that he had, should be bzought thither with him, because he thought that Kingdomes and Empires ought to obey to Vertue and knowledge: Loe, a marueilous deuotion that he had to learning, foꝝ he neuer did vse the like oꝝder, neither to King, Captain, oꝝ any other that he vsed to visit in such case.

A singular honour that Pompeius gave to Possidonius.

We finde further that the auncient Princes haue not ben contented onely to honour them lyuing, but also after their death: foꝝ Ptholomeus king of *Egipt* builded a Church and a Pillar in the honoꝝ of Homer, as if it had bene to the Gods. And also we reade in the *Greeke* histories, that by great Cities were of long time in controuersie who should haue hys bones. This is a straunge thing and very true that alwaies the Tyrantes them selues, enemies to all humanitie, did giue honoꝝ to learning. foꝝ Denys the Tyrant, king of *Cicilia*, by vsurpation, did not spare by all the meanes and inuentions that he coulde vse, to wynn that deuine Plato to come and visit him in *Cicilia*, and being aduertised that he came, he went to meete him himselfe, and prepared his Chariot with.iiij. white horses, wherein he receiued him with as great triumphe and solemnitie as he possible could, foꝝ the great reputation and renoume that he had in that time amongest the wise and sage persons. The *Atheniens* had Demosthenes in such estimation that they made a great Pillar to be erected foꝝ him, vpon the which they caused to be wꝛitten in *Greeke* letters these

Seven Cities were in controuersie for the bones of Homer.

The verye Tyrants did fauour learning.

Demosthenes.

la.j.

wordes:

*Josephus cap
1112.*

*Alexander
not contented
that Aristotle
had published
his bookes.*

*Letters of
king Antigonus to
Zeno the Philosopher.*

wordes. If his body had bene equall to his spirite and knowledge, the kyng of the *Macedonians* had not bene victorious ouer the *Greekes*. *Iosephus* also the *Iew*, being of the number of the captaynes of *Ierusalem*, and lead prisoner to *Rome*, yet bicause of the booke which he had made of the antiquitye of the *Jewes*, they did honoz him wyth a pillar which was set in the ranke amongest the others. *Plutarchus* & *Aulus Gelius* wyte, that *Alexander* in his conquest in *Asia* being aduertised that *Aristotle* had published and put forth certayne booke of Naturall Philosophy (that he had learned vnder the sayd *Aristotle*) wrote a letter vnto him full of checkes, & herein he rebuked him and sayd he had done very euill, so lightly to publish his booke without aduertising him selfe thereof, seeing he desired to excell al others in this Science which he had learned of hym: but nowe beyng thus made familiar to all men by meanes of these his booke being brought to light, his hope was cut of for ever hereafter to attaine thereto: for he did as much desire to passe all others in learning and knowledge, as he did to excell in all other thinges. But *Aristotle* knowing that this disease proceeded but of noblenes and vertue, he knewe verys well how to prepare a medicine for the same, and sent him an aunswere, that he would not leaue of neuertheles, from proceeding in his former purpose, and sayd that his booke were obscure, that there were very fewe or none that could vnderstande them, if they had not his interpretation. *Diogenes Laertius* writeth, that *Antigonus* King of *Macedonia*, knowing the commoditie of learning, and how much it was requisit for the gouernment of a kingdome, and knowing also *Zeno* to be of great renoune amongst the Philosophers of the sect of the *Stoikes*, being moued with hys sagenelle & wisdom sent vnto him letters and expresse Embassadors, whereof the content is thus wyrtten in *Diogenes Laertius*: *Antigonus* king to *Zeno* the Philosopher sendeth greeting. I know that I am moze rich in worldly goodes geuen by fortune, than thou art, yet alwaies thou dost exceede me in

me in other thinges, in Sciences and learning, in the which consisteth the true felicity of this humaine life : wherefore I do praye that thou wilt permit that I maye see thy conuersation, and enioy thy presence, and if thou doest agree thereunto, thou shalt be assured that the godnesse and learning that I shall receiue at thy handes shall not be for thy profite and commoditie of one man onely, but generally to all the *Macedonians*, for that he which giveth instruction and learning to a King, doth teach also all his Subiectes. For alwayes as the King is, such be his Vassalles, and as the Captaine is, such are his Soldiers.

This good old man as soon as he had read his letters, for that he could not go to him him selfe (for his great age) sent him two of his Schollers well learned, which did assist him and gaue him instructions for the space of five whole yeres, to whom the King dyd yeld him selfe so tractable and obedient, that he dyed one of the most renowned kinges vpon the earth. And shall we passe vnder silence Iulius Cesar, one of the most famous Captaines vpon the earth, who had booke as familiar with him, as armour, and would as soon giue him selfe to reade as to armes : who alwayes as soon as he had satisfied his actes in armes, he would disarm him selfe, and go talke with the Poetes and Philosophers, and alwayes in his iourneys he eyther wryt, or els dyd reade some booke. The Historians write of him one noble thing worthy of perpetuall memory : That being one day in *Alexandria* a Towne in *Egypt*, (flying the fure of his enemies that dyd pursue hym) he dyd saue hym selfe with swimming, and caried in one of his handes certain booke which he had composed, declaring that he had in as great estimation the monumentes of his mynde, as his lyfe. They which haue at anye tyme read his Commentaries, and considered the thinges therein contayned, and specially the phrase of his Latin wordes, they may easely iudge he was no lesse an Orator, than an Emperour.

Iulius Cesar
passing over
a certaine
floud swimming,
held
his booke in
his hand that
they should
not be lost.

Themistocles.

Methridates.

All the most famous captaynes of Grece were louers of learning. Paulus Emilius.

A great number of Emperours that did compose bookes.

Themistocles a noble captaine amongst the *Greekes* was as much commended for his learning and knowledge as for his valiantnesse, although he was one of the most renowned of all the *Greekes*. Epaminondas likewise which was another of the most excellent captaynes of the sayd *Greekes* was euer studious and geuen to learning. And Methridates, who by the space of xl. yeares warred agaynst the *Romans* did not at any time abandon learning, but had alwayes wth hym certayne Philosophers and Orators, with whom he dyd alwaies communicate his studies. Paulus Emilius also conqueror of the king of the *Perfians*, was a man much giuen to study, and was so zealous towarde the *Athenians* that he gaue vnto them Metrodorus for to instruct their Chyldezen, and he himselfe not contented to spende all his whole life in learning, but to the ende he would giue a testimonye to his posteritie, how he had spent his lyfe, did write manye profitable bookes for the world to come: as Quintus Fabius the great, Marcus Brutus, Traianus, Adrianus, Marcus Antonius, Marcus Aurelius, Alcybiades, Scipio, Affricanus, Lucius Brutus, and manye other *Romaynes* and *Greekes* verie noble in armes, and great louers of learning did the like. And Hannibal likewise a most excellent captaine, although he was of nature fierce, sauage, and greatly estranged from al humanitie, vnfaithfull, and hated of God and man, yet he had alwaies the *Greeke* and the *Latin* tong in such estimation that he left vnto vs a booke in the *Greeke* tong written with hys own hand. And Alphonfus king of *Castel*, a most noble and learned Prince, was so wel exercised in the science of Astrology, that euen at this day we do taste of the excellencie of his knowledge. And surely all these noble men left these monumentes as examples to their posteritie to follow.

Wherefore I thinke there is no hart so faynt or feable, that shall reade the famous deedes, actes and prowesse of so manye valiant and noble men, but wyll be kyndled and styred vp with an ardent desire to follow and resemble them, and set at nought

at nought this caducall lyfe (which is but a moment) to acquire and get this famous as it were everlasting life, whose actes after their death haue made them moze glorioſus and ſhining than they were befoze in their life time. Salomon that celeftiall Orator, declareth very well that all thinges to him was nothing worth in compariſon of wiſedome & knowledge: For when he had his choyle of the Lord to demaunde what he would, he asked of him wiſdome to iudge his people, and to diſcerne the good from the euill, which he obtayned in ſuch aboundance, that he paſſed al the Kinges vpon the earth, as well in wiſedome, as in diſcretion to iudge and gouerne his ſubiectes, and in ſuch ſort, that by the ſame and renoume of his wiſedome he drew vnto hym thoſe which were in the extreme partes of the world (as the Queene of Saba) to viſit him, to behold his Maiesty, to learne inſtructions and wiſdome of him, in which thing he hath attayned to the glozy of his father Dauid who was ſo well indued with his celeftiall wiſedome, that he perſed and entred into the moſt higheſt miſteries of heauen.

But now if we cannot perſwade our Princes and Kinges by theſe ſo many examples of ſuch a number of Emperours, Kinges and Monarches, to employ them ſelues to learning and knowledge: yet for default and for a ſupply thereof, we wiſh they would at the leaſt haue about them men of knowledge, wiſedome, and vertue, that may aſſiſt them, by whole wiſedome and counſell they maye the better decide all accidents: for there is nothing moze pernicious to a kingdome than when the head and chiefe thereof wyll not permit the counsell of the wyſe, or that hee wyll preferre hys owne head befoze any others, leauing therein the doctrine that the wyſe man geueth, when he doth admoniſh vs that we ſhould not truſt to much in our own wiſedome: which is alſo confirmed by the Prophet Eſay, when hee ſayth, *Uo be vnto them that are wyſe in their own ſight, & thinke them ſelues to haue vnderſtanding: as S. Paule alſo to the Romanes wi-*

By knowledge & learning men ſhal procure to them ſelues immortalitye.

1. Kinges. 3.

Salomon ſurpaſſed al men in wiſedome.

The Queene of Saba.

Counſell of wiſe & graue men is good for Princes.

Prouerb. 3.

Eſay. 5.

Roma. 22.

*Many king-
domes main-
tained in
great honor
by counsell of
the wise.*

*A maruey-
lous affiance
in a friend.*

*Antipater
friend to
king Philip.*

*A great af-
fiance that
Alexander
had in Ephe-
steon.*

teeth, that we must take good hēde we thinke not our selues wyle in our owne conceites. For many kynges and pīnces haue mayntayned their Realmes in great honour and prosperitie by the wysedome and counsell of sage and discreete persons that gouerned them. As Phillip King of Macedonia had a Lieutenant called Antipater, by whose wysedome and counsell he obtayned many victozies. And when vpon a tyme as hee was at hys rest, there came one who shewed hym that hys enmyes dyd approche, and that hee should take good hēde, and stande vpon hys defence, least he were surprised: He answered and sayd to hym, let me take my rest and repose my selfe (I pray thee) for I know certainly that my Lieutenant Antipater watcheth for me. Declaring hereby the speciall affiance and great trust that he had in the conduction and great vigilancie of Antipater, haunz often tymes approued hys diligence in more perilous places. Thus if the ffather was happely ruled by the counsell of Antipater hys sonne, Alexander was no lesse by hys Ephestion, who loued better the vertue and the noblenesse of hys Maister, and also hys owne reputation, than he dyd all hys ryches.

Alexander vpon a time receiued letters (being in Asia) from hys Mother, whom he had left as Regent in his kingdom, wherein she did signifie vnto hym certayne treasons that one had deuised agaynst hym. As soone as he had read them, he gaue them to Ephesteon, and when he had perused them ouer, Alexander tooke of a kyng from hys finger wherein was his Seale, and incontinentlye sealed by the mouth of Ephesteon, declaring thereby that he should keepe secreete the contentes thereof, such affiance had he in his fidelitie. And it is a thyng almoste incredible to heare of the good wyll that Alexander bare towarde Ephesteon, for when he heard of hys death, (he loued hym so dearely) that all the pompes, magnifices, and ceremonies that he coulde any wayes inuent and deuise, were employed at the obsequies,

quies of his Ephestion : for he bestowed al the oymments, swæte odours, and baulmes that he coulde by anye meanes procure, and caused hym to be covered wyth purple and o^rther curious clothes, as if he had bene some Prince o^r King. He caused also a Sepulcher to be erected ouer him, so curiously wrought wyth all excellencye of architecture decked and enriched with so many Images of gold and other precious thinges, that (as Plutarque and Theodorus write in the history of Alexander) his funerals cost him about ten thousand talentes of gold. And be not amased if Alexander (magnifique in all his doynges) bestowed so great charges on him, for he did so much esteeme the faithfulnessse of thys his friend, that he thought ther was none worthy to supply his place, and accompted his friendship moze deare to him, than all the riches of hys Realme. And it is true as Aristotle sayth in his Politikes, that friendes and counsellors be Oygaines and members of a kingdome, who are no lesse necessary than the very body.

Alexander bestowed upō the funerals of Ephestion his deare friend ten thousand talentes of gold, which is after the ac-
cōpt of Bude sixe millions of gold.
Plutarque Arrianus & Theodorus affirme the same.

We haue also a notable and straunge example of amity in Zopirus (most affectionated friend of Darius king of the Persians) who perceiuing that the sayd Darius hys Maister had a long tyme besieged Babilon, without preuaillyng anye thing therein, and that there was litle hope of victo^rye : and seeing his said Maister withall greatlye tormented and afflicted for the destruction of his people, which he had lost in the pursuits therof: to the end he would comfort him againe, he determined quickly either to make an ende of his owne lyfe, o^r els to recover the towne againe. And presently the better to perfoyme the same, he cut his owne eares and nos-
treils, and fled into Babilon. Afterwardes being there, saying him selfe desperate and mad, he began to speake cūl of Darius, and promised the Babilomans the victo^rie, and that he would not cease to spend the rest of his lyfe to inuent all the meanes possible to be reuenged of Darius crueltie towarde hym.

The incredible amity of Zopirus to Darius his Master.

The

*A subtile in-
vention to
deceine the
enemy.*

The *Bablonians* seeing him thus bemangled and cut, they were the easier persuaded that he had receiued this great injury at *Darius* hands, and thought that being thus confirmed in enmitie toward *Darius*, he would the rather seeke meanes to ouerthrow him and his kingdome, bicause he knew al the w hole secretes of hys Realme. And thus the *Bablonians* being deceiued by the subtiltie & finenesse of *Zopirus*, did determine amongst them selues, to commit the gouernment of *Babylon* into his handes, and to make him chiefe & captain of their army. But he that knewe verie well how to play hys part (when he was in full possession of all their libertie) he gaue *Darius* entry into their towne, and after ward put al his army into his handes. *Darius* being informed of this act, and by what meanes he was made Lord of *Babylon*, he could not be stayed from weeping for the great ioy he had conceined of the friendship of *Zopirus*. Afterwardes being greatlye sorie for the hurt and defacing of *Zopirus*, dyd sweare by the immortal Gods, he loued better to haue a perfect *Zopirus*, than to be Lord and Maister of ten *Babylons*.

*The like hi-
stories for
the Romanes*

*Sextus Tar-
quinius did
beate him-
selfe with
roddes to de-
ceine the
Gabinets.
Light cre-
denice is noy-
some.*

The *Romaines* haue in their histories the like example of friendship, but yet not so much to be maruelled at as this, because it is the friendship of the Childe towardes the Father (wherein there is a more dutie than is required of one friend to another.) *Sextus Tarquinius* faining him selfe to be euill intreated at his fathers handes, dyd scourge hym selfe wyth rods, and fled to the *Gabiens* that were besieged, amongst whō he got such credite, by meanes of his subtile and crafty inuentions, that he perswaded them to beleue he had conceined great hatred against his father, and that he should neuer bee satisfied in his minde, vntill he were reuenged of his crueltie towardes him: and if they would therfore repose them selues vpon him to direct & appoynt their affaires, he would handle him with such rigour, that he should neuer in his lyfe hereafter haue wyll to make warres agayne wyth anye people. The *Gabiens* (allured by his flattering and swæte perswasions)

sions) made hym chiefe and Captayne of theyr Towne, but wythin a lyttle tyme after they vnderstode howe that by theyr ouerlyght credite they were deceined, and in satisfaction of theyr folly, their Towne was deliuered into the handes of hys ffather Alexander, a man that was neuer satisfied in exalting those that vnder giue them selues to be ruled by the counsell of theyr friendes, declaring thereby in what estimation he had those that in wayghtye matters vnder vse counsell. As he sayled one day ouer the Sea Hellespont, to go to conquer Asia, passing by Troye, hee would needes see the Portraite of Achilles, that was set vpon hys Sepulcher: And after that he had considered it well and behelde it at hys pleasure, even as a man enuious at hys glorey and fame, with a great sigh (sayd,) certaynly Achilles thou hast bene one of the most happiest men in all the worlde in two thynges, in the one that in thy lyfe tyme thou haddest so faythfull a friende and companion in armes as Patroclus was, whiche accompanied thee even vnto thy Sepulcher: in the other thou wast moze happye, that after thy death thou haddest suche a Trumpet to set forth thy actes and dedes, as that great learned Poet Homer was, who hath so byghly sounded them abroad, that the whole earth doth heare thereof.

Alexander
gelous of the
glory of A-
chilles.

This invincible Monarche had this Greeke Poet in so great a reuerence, that he called hys Iliades, Viaticum, a necessarye thyng for those that wyl exercise and followe the warres, and serue as an instrument to inflame and sturre them vp to magnanimitie, bycause that the ruine of Troye, and the prowesse of Achilles, with the commendations of a great number of excellent Captaynes be so well described and paynted out therein so to the lyfe, that it wyl prouoke suche as shall reade the same to followe theyr doynge, whereby they shall consecrate their names to immortallitie, as these other haue done.

L. J.

And.

This which is here attributed to Alexander, by others is referred to Augustus Caesar as Suetonius doth wytnes in the lyfe of 12. emperors

Pliny and Horace.

The desire of Agamemno

Homerus lib. 2.

And further he had so well printed this magnanimitie and noblenesse in his spirite, that he commaunded straightly all those that had the oversight of his Prouinces, that they shuld not suffer any man that professed learning, to enterpryse to write or set forth his gestes and prayles in their woordes: doubting that some one would take the matter in hand that was not sufficiently learned, to discribē his actes, nor giue him the honour and prayse worthy his desertes: and sayde, that his renomme might be obscured and darkened, if it should be set out by such as were vnlearned and little exercised in those affaires, as a precious stone would be that passeth thorow the handes of many workemen; which in ouermuche handling would in the end become so snubbered, that it would lose his clearnesse. And he had not this opinion onely of those which professed the liberall sciences & disciplines, but also of others moze baser, and of an inferiour degree. For he decreed also vpon great penalties throughout all his Empire, that no Painter, Engrauer or Caruer should make any Image, Portrature or Table of him, were it either in copper, or in any other matter (except onely Appelles, one of the most excellent and renowned Painters vpon the earth.)

But to the end we wyll not go farre from our first matter, which was to entreate how requisite counsell is to those that do commaund others, Homer (the worthiest man among the Greekes) did very well confirme, when he sayde that Agamemnon the King and chiefe Captaine against the Troians, making his prayers to the Gods, that they would graunt him ten such Counsellors as Nestor was, the better to bring to passe his enterpryses (hauing with him at that time Ajax and Diomedes Captaines very wel exercised and approued in partiall affaires) did neuer desire eyther Teuocles, or ten Diomedes, knowing very well how greatly the good counsell of Nestor did serue him to purpose, and how much profite and commoditie it alwayes brought vnto hym in all his affaires, to preuent anye thing present or to come, when

when he did receiue the same, and followed it.

Phillip of Macedonia, father to Alexander, did so muche betwaile the death of a deare friend of his called Hipparcus, that he was almost dead with care. And when his friendes did seeke to comfort him, and to put him out of his minde, alledging that it was time for him to dye, considering his many yeares, and that death was more necessary for him than lyfe (if he had good regard of his old age) it is true said he, but certainly it is great griefe to me that I haue not recompensed his wholesome counceils and the long and paynfull seruices which I haue receiued of him in tymes past: wherefore perceiuing very well I cannot now acquite the same, thys my vnthankfulnesse shall be a burthen to me and my honour for ever. And now hauing brought forth by the testimonye of many prophane histories, as well *Greekes as Latines*, how necessarye it is for a Prince (that wyll gouerne his people well) to haue some wise and sage men about him, by whose counsell his Realme shall be better ruled and gouerned: it nowe resteth to confirme the same by the testimonie of the holy and sacred Scriptures.

An Epilogue of the things before sayd.

Moyles the great lawe geuer to the Hebrewes, when hee complained to the Lord his God, that he could not gouerne such a multitude of people (as he had) considering the murmures and seditions that they continually raysed agaynst him, he was commaunded by the Lord that he should chuse out. i. men which he knew to be most auncient, wyse, and of the greatest estimation and credite amongst the people, and he shoulde leade the same to the gate of the Tabernacle of wytnes, to the end they might assist and ayde him. And after the Lord said vnto him, that he would take of the spirit which he had giuen him, and put vpon them, that they should beare mutually together the charge of the people. Likewise king Asuerus being contemned of the Quene Vasti his wyfe, would not punish her of his own authoritie, but he gathered together the wisest and sagest of his Princes, after whose

Testimonies of the holy and sacred scriptures.

Num. 11.

Hester. 1.

L. y.

adulter

aduiſe he dyd determine of her ſact.

Romulus the firſt ſounder of *Rome*, knowing how difficult a thyng it was to rule the common wealth, he ordainned an hundred Senators, of the moſt wyſe and auncient men of *Rome*, to helpe hym in the adminiſtration of hys common wealth. Let therefore Kynges and Princes take it for a certayne trueth, that for the conſervation of theyr mightynesse, and the preſervation of their Realmes, they muſt aboue all thynges deliberate and moderate all theyr doynges and enterpryſes wyth counsell and good aduiſe, not runnyng headlong thereunto wythout all order and reaſon. For there is nothing moze enemy to Meritue, Juſtice, and Equitie, than ouermuch raſhneſſe.

*Vertues of
the ſaid A-
lexander.*

Prouer. 19.

Quintus Curtius in the lye of Alexander doth recount, that as he vpon a tyme was ſorrowing with him ſelfe that he had raſhly paſſed certayne affayres, whereof he dyd repent hym afterwarde, he tooke in hand to intreate of Meritue, amongſt certayne of his ſeruauntes that he was moſt affectionated vnto, to whom after many exhortations and other documentes he declared that a Kyng ought to premeditate thre times vpon euery thyng that he ſhall doe, befoze he put it in execution. For when the Prince (ſayd he) committeth any offence, he muſt thinke he doth it in a Theatre, where all the whole world ſhall ſee hym and marke hym, and that moze is, his offence and fault is almoſt incorrigible, bicauſe it ſloweth & ſpcedeth it ſelf amongſt al the people. The wiſe man likewiſe deſiring to reſſeſſe thoſe firſt and ſodayne motions that are in men, doth ſay in his *Prouerbes*, that he which moueth his ſete to fall, often times ſumbleth, and doth with his ouermuche haſte bying with hym repentance. Afterwarde he addeth in his ſayde *Prouerbes*, My ſonne, do nothing without counsell, and then thou ſhalt not haue cauſe afterwarde to repent. Beholde lo how by the leſſons and inſtructions befoze ſayde, Kinges and Princes may gather, that learning and knowledge are thynges very profitable

profitable and commodious for the dignitie royall, and both maruellously deck and adorne the same. And likewise they may learne in them not rashly and without aduilement to passe ouer their affaires: but alwayes call vnto them wyse and sage counsell to decide all their actions and doinges.

And now for conclusion, for as much as we haue entreated of counsell, it is necessary that we do somewhat exhort them that they do very rare or selborne accept the counsell of yonge men: and specially of such as haue bene delicately brought vp, and that do rather folloewe most willinglye the swinge of their vnbydded wyse, than the way of vertue. And this is most chiefly recounted vnto vs by Aristotle, Prince of the Philosophers, who forbiddeth expressely, that they shall be made the chiefe or head of any Princes or Counsell, for their counsell is to be suspected. But to the contrary, that the Prince shall alwayes haue about him suche as be stayed in age, and sober in counsell, and that haue great experience in all thinges, conspyred with integritie of lyfe, and vertuous maners, such as commonlye is founde in olde men, which (as S. Ierome writeth) are feeble in all the powers of their bodies, but increased in wysedome and counsell. Which thing is wyselye taught also by Plato in his *Symposse*, where he sayth, that although the corporall eyes begin to be weakened and lese their puissance and strength, yet the eyes of the mynde do see more clearer, and be made more subtiler and sharper.

Aristotle in a certaine place demanding a reason wherfore olde men bee commonlye more fearefull, than young men: answereth and sayth (amongest other thinges) that the great experience that they haue of the mischiefes past, doth make them to be in such feare. But such consideration cannot enter into the myndes of young men, being lyste and whote in all theyr actions and doinges, because they haue not yet proued the rigour of Wyne, nor force of Fortune.

The counsell of yonge men perillous to Princes.

Aristotle.

S. Ierome. Plato in his *Symposse*.

Wherefore old men be more feareful than yonge men.

Plutarche

Embassa-
dors ought
to be auncient
& wise men
Macha. 5.

Cap. 24.
Nume. 22.

Denis Hali-
car.

Genesis. 29

Solon.

The Ro-
maines.

Atheniens.

Lacedemo-
nens.

Stobeus ser-
mon. 122.

The prayse
of aged and
auncient me.

Plutarche that worthy Philosopher doth teache vs, howe
that a Citie is more happily governed by the councell of old
men, than by the force and strength of young men: and anti-
quitie also hath attributed so much to number of yeares, that
if there rise question to put any thing in execution of impor-
tance, alwayes old men (by common vse allowed by Pa-
tors) are preferred thereunto. Titus Livius Prince of the
Latter Historians doth write, that when the Romans had
determined their punike warres, they chose the most aun-
cient of the people to make their Legates and Embassadors
into Affricke. And it is written in the booke of the *Macha-*
bers that King Antiochus sent an auncient man of *Antioche*
to convert them to their law. And this thing was had in vse
and observed immediately after the beginning of the world
by Abraham, who did send into *Mesopotamia* the most aun-
cient of his Servautes, to entreate of the marriage of his
sonne Isaac, as it is written in *Genesis*. Balaac also King of
Mabab, sent the most sagest and eldest for Embassadors to
saile Balaam to curse the people of *Israel*, as it is written in
the booke of *Numbers*. And as Dennis Halicarnaseus write-
teth likewise, the *Ethuriens* willing to intreate of peace with
Tarquine, chose out of euery towne one auncient man, for
the accomplishment of their Legation. Abraham that good
Patriarche, knowing very well that wisdome and sagenesse
did for the most part accompanie white beares, ordained for
chicfe of his house the eldest and auncientes of his seruantes.
The auncient *Romaines* in the election of their Magistrates,
did alwayes preferre the most eldest. Solon the lawmaker
of the *Atheniens* did forbid them to receiue any young men
to the rule of their common wealth. And Cicero in his booke
De Senectute writeth, that they did vse the like in *Macedo-*
nia & in the Ile of *Thyrrabacion* they do not chose their kings
of the offsprings of Nobilitie (as we do accustome) but they
chose him for their Prince that is most auncient, wyse, and
sage. The *Arabians* likewise, as soon as their King is dead,
they

they chose the most auncient men to rule and gouerne theyr
 Prouince, as writeth Diodorus Siculus: Julius Frontinus
 writeth also that L. Paulus did likewise for the publike profite
 and comoditie that Emperors and the chief of armies shoulde
 be auncient men. Philostrates in the life of P. Helianthus writeth
 that Vespasianus being of the age of .lxx. yeares, did excuse
 himselfe (where he was chosen to receiue the gouernment
 of the Empire) and sayd he was ouer young, thinking that his
 yeares were not sufficient to execute so great a charge: And
 is it not written in the best histories that it is the law that
 hath a Child to the king and amongst other sayings
 that the Lord saith by E. say to his people, he promiseth to
 giue them young kings, although he would say, I will sende
 you destruction & ruine. Bulcarius Nicomachus made a con-
 tinuall prayer to his Gods, wherein he prayed them that they
 would defend the land from a young king. And it is a marueilous
 and strange thing to behold that brute beasts, much by the
 prouidence of nature, will rather obey to the old, than to the
 young, as Pliny a great searcher of the properties of beasts,
 doth witness to us when he sayth, that amongst the Ele-
 phantes the most auncient doe goe and lead the troupe,
 and the other go after, & acknowledge them for their heades
 and chiefe. Aelianus the Greeke Historian writeth likewise
 that the little Ants going into the fieldes to make their pro-
 uisions for the winter, suffer the most auncient to go afoze,
 and are contented to be guided by their order and aduise.

Now the Prince being thus instructed by such a number
 of histories (here before rehearsed) in what reuerence and
 estimation the auncients haue alwayes old age, and that they
 haue happily bene ayded by their counsell: it is necessary
 that they do not determine of any weighty matter with-
 out their aduise, counsell, and assistance, following therein
 the counsell of the Prophet Iob which saith, that wisedome
 and sagensse doth remayn in the old and auncient men, and
 in the pluralitie of yeares consisteth experience and sapience:

Plinie lib. 8.

cap. 5.

Age honored
among b nte
beastes.

Cap. 12.

as con

Kings. 3.

Iechonias.
Sedechias.
Kings. 12.Jeremy a
yong man.
Daniell a
yong man.
Jeremie. 1.
Daniel 3.
Scipio Affri
canns a yong
man.

as contrarie in youthe, lyghtnesse & inconstancie euer prompt
and enclined to all euill, who when they once goe astraye
into wantonnesse and insolencie, they do not only animate
themselves, but likewise they do infect those that followe
their aduice and counsell. What happened to Roboam, in
reiecting ouer lyghtly the counsell and aduice of the olde and
aged men, & admitting yongmen: but euen the losse of the bet-
ter parte of his Realme and Kingdome: We haue also an other
example of two Kings of Iuda. y one Iechonias being counseled
by Ieremie, obeyed thereunto and found it herie profitable for
him: and the other Sedechias, herie obstinate, woulde not be-
leeue him: but being hardened in his malice, was cause of the
ruine of his Citie: & generally of all the people. We could more
easily allraige an infinit nūbre of examples by the which yee
vnderstand of many subuersions & straunge accidents, y might
haue saide vpon many Kingdomes and Empires, because
they did lyghtly and without good consideration, commit them-
selves to be gouerned and ruled by the aduice and counsell of
youth. But so much as it is not our principal intent so highly
to magnifie olde age, that we should thereby seme to deface
and cut off all hope from yong men, to be called into Princes
seruices, and to cause them to lose thereby the celestiaall gyftes
that the Lord our God hath imparted to them. I will alraige
an infinite number of yong men, as well out of the sacred
scriptures as other prophane authoꝛs, that haue painefully
trauelled in the administration of the common wealth, and
which by their worthy and famous actes haue merited to be
preferred before the age: is that yong Prophet Ieremie who
was ordained by the Lord, ouer people and kingdomes, to pul-
up by the riuer, de stroy, make waste, to build, and plante: and
that yong infant Daniel, which was in his yong years made a
Judge: and Scipio Affricanus, was not asfraid in his yong
yeares to demaund the dignitie of the *Edilicial*, to whome it
was sayde his capacitie was not sufficient, nor his yeares a-
greeable for the same, who answered he had yeares sufficient
if

if the Senate would dispence therewith, as he made it very well to be knowne afterwards: for where vertue is lively imprinted and rooted, the few numbze of yeares can not darken it. Likewise Caesar made it to be vnderstanded, that yong mens dence was not to be measured by yeares, who was sodeinly preferred before old men. cut off by death before he coulde performe al his deuises and purposes. And Kullius Decius, Coruinus, Sulinus, Flaccus Manlius, Torquatus Germanicus, and an infinite numbze of other rulers of common wealths euen as oboytines and maugre their yeares were chosen and set vp in dignitie, but with suche a testimonie and oꝛnature of their vertues, that they haue left good cause to their posteritie, to iudge that the aduancements of the common wealthes hath not consisted only in the white haire of olde and auncient men.

The Atheniens beare good witnesse thereof: who were deliuered from the crueltie & seruitude of the Lacedemomans by the worthinesse & noblenesse of Iphicrates, being but of the age of. xxv. yeres, who (aboue y hope that was looked for of one of his yeares) did restore them to that state that many aged and valiant captaines, (losing their trauayle and labour) coulde not by any meanes accomplish. And we leaue to speake of Alexander, being but onely at the age of. xxxij. yeres (the very periode of his age) was Monarche of the whole worlde: and not contented with suche victorie as he had gotten, but caused the earth to be digged, thinking that he shoulde fynde an other worlde to conquere. Wh a greate noblenesse of a Prince, that thinketh he hath don nothing, if there remaine yet any thing to be done. It is not therefore now my purpose as you perceyue, to exclude and banish yong men from the presence of Princes, no more than I couet to speake euill of them: but bicause I do desire (for the perfection of the Prince) he should be without all faulte and blemish: euen so for that the counsel of olde and auncient men is more assured & lesse suspect than the counsel of yong men, I do wish in y respect that they would more frequēt the one than the others.

M.j.

Hovv

*Yong mens
preferred be-
fore old men.*

*Iphicrates
being of the
age. of xxv.
yeres, was
chosen cap-
taine of the
Atheniens
ageinst the
Boetians.*

The Institution
 ¶ *The seuenth Chapter.*

Hovve that Kings and Princes ought chiefly and moſte principally to haue the eſtate of chriſtian Religion in great reuerence and eſtimation, and to ſheve themſelues louers of the ſame : and that they ought alſo to be very diligent and carefull to puniſhe the blaſphemers and contemners therof, and vvithal to purge their dominions and realmes of al heretikes, and Sectaries: for the vvich there is ſhevved many examples of erroneous ſects, together vvith the falſe doctrine of Mahomet, his life and death, and by vvhat means and ſuttletie hee hath ſuborned and ſeduced ſo many people, and hovv many Emperors, kings & princes, after they had perſecuted the faithfull of the Church of God, did not eſcape the ſharpe vengeance of his vvyrath, but dyed in the end of ſome ſhamefull and horrible death.

*Holynesse
 and pyetic
 towards god
 and religion
 is required
 of kings and
 Princes.*



¶ *We haue here in this laſte Chapter intreated generally of ſuche vertues as are mete and cōuenable for Princes, for the worthy governments of their realmes and dominions : and now we will ſpeake of one ſpeciall vertue, without the uſe and praetice wherof all the others are but vayne and of no value, and that is holynesse and pietie towards God with an ardente affection and zeale to hys true religion* **whiche**

which with Princes ought to be had in moze greater recom-
mendacion and estimation than their owne proper liues. Iosias one of
the most vertuous princes that euer did bear scepter, after that the booke of the lawe was found in the temple,
that euer bare scepter.
and that he had heard it red, he assembled al the most aunci-
ents of the people, and being accompanied with all the Pro-
phets and priests, went into the Church, and there sitting in
Paralipo. ca. 2.
hys seate royall, made an allyaunce befoze God, to obey to
his commaundements, statutes, and ordinances, and made
Dewine in-
all his subiects to promise that they should accomplish all the
structions of
words of the same allyaunce according to the couenant of the
Princes.
God of their fathers, which they did obserue and keepe du-
ring all the time of the life of this king Iosias. There is one
notable lesson writte in Deuteronomie for kings and prin-
ces, where it is sayd: You Princes and kings whiche are set
Deuteron. 2. 7.
vpon the throne of your kingdomes, receiue the lawe and
Ioluc. ca. 1.
haue it alwayes with you, and reade it all the days of your
life, to the end you may learne to feare the Lord your God,
and to kepe his lawes, and commaundementes, and see that
Wisdom. 7.
it do not depart your mouths, but thinke of it day and night,
that you may accomplish all that is written therein, and then
The prospe-
your realmes and kingdomes shall prosper with al ioy & fe-
ritie of prin-
licite: open your eares you that iudge the costes of the earth
ces lyeth in
and rule the multitude, and take pleasure in numbers of
the fulfilling
people: authoritie and power is giuen you of the Lord and
the lawe.
strength from the highest, who (as Daniell sayeth) chaun-
Daniel. ca. 2.
geth times and ages, putteth downe Princes & setteth them
A profitable
vp, and cholet them amongst the most humblest sorte of
exhortation
men. Receiue discipline and be learned, you that iudge the
of Daniell
earth, serue the Lord in feare, least he be wroth, for he will
gine to prin-
looke vpon your doings, and will searche your thoughts, by
ces.
cause that you (being ministers of hys kingdom) haue not
The threat-
indged rightly and iustly, nor haue not regarded the lawe of
nings of God
righteousnesse, nor haue not walked in the pathes of the
to wicked
Lord. He shal therfore appeare to you in his rigozeous iudge-
Prin. ca. 6
ment Wis. om. 6

¶ y.

ment

1. Kings 2.
Kingdomes
doo alwayes
prosper when
they are go-
uerned by
good and ver-
tuons princes.
3 Kings 3.
Idolatrours
kings and
contemners
of religion.
Hosptalles
oughte to bee
had in reme-
brance amongst
kings and
princes.

1. Macha. 4.
1. Esdras. 3.
The church
shall sucke of
the breasts of
the Church.
Kings nurses
of the church
Esay. 6.

ment when he will iudge seuerely them that haue sitten in the seate of iudgemēt: and the mightie ones shalbe mightely tormented and punished. Enter into your selues therfore you Princes, and dispoyle your selues of these humain affections that holde your eyes blind, acknowlege the graces that the Lord hath bestowed vppon you whiche are comprised in the secret misteries of this heauenly philosophie. The kingdomes of Israell did alwayes prosper very well as long as they were gouerned by god and vertuose Princes, as Dauid, Iosaphat, Ezechiel, and Iosias, who had alwayes the feare of God befoze their eyes: but to the contrary, vnder Achab, Manasses, Ammon, and other such wicked idolaters, and contemners of true religion, they were alwayes tormented and afflicted, and in the ende vutterly ouerthrowne. For during the tyme that Salomon walked in the wayes of the Lord, he possessed his kingdom in tranquillitie: but after y he had buylded temples to Idols, all the wo:ld was agaynst him. It is mans duetie, and most chiefly required at the handes of Princes, to haue the house of the pure and sacred places in remembraunce: And specially those that are without reliefe, decayed and become almoste ruinate by continuance of tyme, according to the example of that good prince Dauid, who spdeily and with al diligence reedified the tabernacle, and his sonne Salomon (with a maruellous magnificence) the Temple of the Lord. Zorobabel was greatly commended bycause that (after from the captiuitie of Babylon by the ayde of Esdras) he reedified the temple of the Lord. As likewise Iudas Machabeus did restore the temple polluted and prophaned by Antiochus. But what a gracious testimonie haue we in Esay, of the allpance that kings haue made with the Church? Where he sayth, The kings and princes shal giue thee milke, and shall be thy nurses, they shall do honour and reuerence vnto thee with their faces flat vpon the earth: kings shall walke in thy lyght, and shall buyld thy walles, they shall bring vnto thee golde and siluer, and shall serue

serue thee, thou shalt sucke the milke of nations, and thou shalt be nourished of the breastes and teates of princes. Wh Jerusalem, thou holy Citie of God, all the countreys vppon the earth shall worshipping thee: strange nations shall bring thee presents, and shall worship the Lorde in thee, and shall account the earth holy where thou standest: they that shall contemne thee, shall be accursed: and they that shall blaspheme thee, shall be condemned. But those that shall buyld thee shall be blissed. By the patterne of this church is figured the Christian Church: And when Kings and Princes haue established and set in order all things that is necessary concerning true religion, they oughte with greate discretion and policie, to deuise and establish lawes to chastise and correct the infinite numbres of periuries & blasphemies, which do reigne amongs the people, and that with suche seneritie as they may taste of their iustice. And forasmuch as the maiestie of God is thereby contemned (if by their negligence the same do remaine unpunished,) they shall be accomptable for it before God, who will shote the arrowes of his wrath vpon them, and vpon the earth. For if wee be ready and diligent to chastise them that be condemned of treason, or that do backbite & speake euil of Kings and Princes, & that presently for the offence committed, we hang them, burne them, quarter them, and confiscate their goodes: Why should we not be muche more zelous to pursue them that do contemne the Maiestie of God: before whom and to whome all shall obey and bowe their knees, specially being straightly commaunded therevnto by the Lorde, where hee wylleth, that blasphemers shall be chased oute of the Citie, and that the people shall stone them to death?

King Nabuchodonosor who of an abhominable tyrante was become the disciple of Danyell, did ordeyne that yf any Nation or people did blaspheme the name of the God of Danyell, that he shoulde be cut in peces. King Darius lykwys wrote vnto all his subiects, that they should feare

¶.iiij.

the

*The christia
church is fi-
gured by Je-
rusalem.*

Iob. 14.

*The seconde
thing requi-
red at christe
princes han-
des is to pu-
nish the blas-
phemies and
periuries a-
mong the
people.*

*Blasphemers
muste be sto-
ned to death.*

Daniel. 3.

*Blasphemers
by the lawe
of good king
Loys was
made thru-
sting throug
the tung.*

S. Ambro 54.

*Heresies
must be pu-
nished by
Princes.*

*The perse-
cuto agein
st the faithfull
hath endu-
red from the
time that Je-
sus Christ
ascended in-
to Heauen
untill Con-
stantine the
Emperour
which is 300
yeares or
there abouts*

the God of Daniel. And we haue many examples of a great number of Kings, Prophets, apostles and byshops, as Samuell, Iosaphat, Moyse, Artaxerxes, and Darius, who dyd stone to death the blasphemers: and amongst all others that good king Loys, dyd make a lawe, that suche blasphemers shoulde haue their tungs thruste through with an hote yron. (But this vice is so common at this day, that if all that do offend therein should be thus punished, all the Smithes vpon the earth wolde not suffice to heate the yrons :) seeing then it is so, that Kings and Princes be patrons, protectours and the children of the Church, they ought to gird the y swords about their loynes for the honoure and glozy of God (as the Psalmist dothe teache them) that is to say, they should imploy all their chief study and care therein, and to trauell by all meanes possible to cleanse their realmes and dominions of these rauening wolues, false Prophets, seducers of the people, erronious teachers, and hypocrites, that wolde seeme to be discret and sage before the eyes of the world, and to be wise in their owne conceites, and yet in deede are but asses and foles, replenished with all ignorance and blindnesse, blinde, and leaders of the blinde, resters of the holy Ghost, and the truth, and giuen vp into a reprobate sense. For Sathan the prince of this world as S. Paule writeth doth so bleare their eyes, and so shut vp their minds, that hauing their eyes open, they see not, and in hearing they heare not. And this proceedeth of the furiose rage of the Deuill who stirreth them vp agein st God and the ministers of his worde. And such troublers and persecuters of the Church haue begon and endured euen from the time that Iesus Christ (our redemer) ascended into Heauen, vntill the tyme of the emperour Constantine the great, which cotinued nere. 300. yeres, during which time y pwe church was maruelously afflicted and troubled: as vnder the gouernement of Nero, Domitianus, Traianus, Adrianus, Antonius Seuerus, and Diocletianus. For alwayes when it was

was thought the Church to be in most best peace and tranquillitie, wherby mennes harts wared carelesse with ouer much ydolensse and want of zeale, and suche as ought to haue bin the chief conseruers and maintainers of true and sincere doctrine wer negligent and had no regard therof: then by and by the Deuill stirred by sturby and furiose sprites, flattering and ambitious mindes, to sowe false doctrine, to deface the truthe, and byd ingender greate confusion in the Church: as when by the meanes of Constantine the great, the Church had gotten some tranquillitie and rest, beholde incontinentlye the furie of the Arrians, Pelagians, Manichees, Eunomyens, Macedoniens, Nestorians, Eutychiens, and many others begaune to spring vp to so greate a hinderaunce and decaye of the Christian common welth, that the woundes thereof hathe well appeared to all the posteritie folowynge: and not staying at all these persecutions, but euen then that false Prophet Mahomet (most wicked of all others,) begaune to exalte himselfe, who by his cruell malyce hath infected the moste part of the earth.

Greate persecution of the Church.

Ydolensse nurse of all heresie.

And for as muche as his beginning is recounted sundry wayes by many Authours, (to the end I would giue some pleasure to the Reader, and to satysfie the requeste of a Gentlemanne, a frende of myne, and for as muche also as iuste occasyon is nowe offered,) I will saythfully and truly rehearse that whyche I haue redde as well in his Alkaron as in other auncient authours, and some others that of late haue wrytten any thing of his lyfe.

And bycause that no man shal thinke that I do wryte here vpon the reporte or credyte of others, or that I haue hereunto added or diminished any thing, after myne owne fantasie or deuyle, I wyll giue the Reader to vnderstand, what Authours I haue chiefly followed in this treatise, to the end, that yf he bee desirous to haue a more full or ample Discourse hereof, I wil send hym to Aeneas Syluius, otherwise called Pope Eius, Pomponius Latus in the abridge-

ment

ment of the *Romain* historie. Platina in the life of the popes, Blondus in his booke of the fall of the Empire of Rome, Nauclerus, Baptiste Egnatius, in his abridgement of the emperours, Paulus Iouius, Lodouicus Viues, in a certeine treatise of his, the Alcoran it selfe of Mahomet, and also Alcimadus his interpreter, vppon Caalay, which he commended vppon A. Berofus, vpon Cyar of the acts of Mahomet, Hayn, Moymu, Muslin. And if he be not satisfied with al these ancient authours, I haue hereunto adioyned the testimonie of those, which haue bin of late dayes in Turky, and haue had the experience and proof of al these matters, as Petrus Belon, who diligently hath witten all things which he obserued in that his iorney. And Bartholomeus, Georgieniso, who continued there the space of nine or ten yeres, and was sold and boughte there fve or six times, hath witten vnto vs all his whole vyage: whose testimonies I will here remeber chiefly for two causes: the one is, for that I might assure the reader, that in this little discourse which I do here present vnto him, he shall finde the perfect summarie of all that any others haue witten before. The other cause is, wholly to extinguish and take away the greate desire that many haue to reade the sayd Alcoran, in which they suppose to finde some greate, straunge, and maruelous matter: but assuredly they are farre deceiued of their accompte, for in reading thereof, they shall finde no kind of pleasure at all, no: no phrase, or propertie of words well vsed, but rather a disordered stile, without sappe or sauoure, or any sentence or other matter else therin that might delight or content the readers, but is filled with an infinite number of lies, contradictions, and blasphemies, and that so horrible that amongst all the things that euer haue bin red or heard, there cannot be found matter more ridiculous & more manifest agaynst the maiestie of God our Lord, than is witten in this Alcoran: so that in it, there is no more fast or shewe of any trouth, or veritie, than is in the tales or fables of Esope: and yet notwithstanding

*The maiesty
of God is de-
praned in
this Allegation*

ding the Deuill hath so maruelously bleared the eyes of many, that euen now at this daye the greater part of the world do repose theselues on him, as on one that hath bin most religious and holy: but soasmuch as the truth shal be the better discovered by recitall of eache thing in his place and order, I will first begin with the natiuitie of this false & wicked Prophet Mahomet. The Turkes haue one booke which is called Alcar, in the which is contained all the life of Mahomet, and likewise all his acts from his natiuitie vnto his death, his fathers name was Abdola, and his mothers Imina, his father died befoze his mother was deliuered of him, and his mother died. y. yerres after he was bozne, so he was left without father and mother (who if she had auerted hir burden, she had therby deliuered the christia common welth from muche mischief and affliction.) Some do write that he was descended of a noble race: others do not accoꝝd therunto (bycause his mischeuouse life was sufficient to infect and obscure al the noblenesse in a whole region:) he was bozne in Arabia, his father was neither Iewe, nor christian, but was a gentile and an Idolater, as the most part of the histories do write: his mother was descended of Imael, the son of Abraham, which he begat of his maiden Agar, & so he was a Iewe bozne: he had in his youth a maruellouse lyuelinesse of spirit, and such a memoꝝy that he did redily comprehend any thing that was sayd or shewed vnto him: he did by his great diligence and by the quicknesse of his wit lerne both the old and new testaments at the age of xv. yeres: he made iourneys often times into Persia, Syria, Palestine, and to Cayre, and into many other countreis with a certein marchant (who being dead) he toke in mariage his wife, & had. iij. children by hir: after, when he was at the age of xxx. yeres he bled euery day to go into a caue, and there kepte such a maruelouse abstinence, that he became therewithall, euen almost madde, with ouermuch fasting: and (as some men write) being in this caue, he communed with certeyn wicked spirites. And

Abdola and Imina the parents of Mahomet.

A naughty life argueth an obscure race and family.

Imina the mother of Mahomet descended of Imael sonne of Abraham

*Mahomet
had cōfēre
with wicked
spirits.*

one day being as a man desperate, would haue caste him selfe downe headlongs from the toppe of a Mountayne, by reason of certayne visions that hee saue, whereby hee was greatly troubled and vered.

*A turkish
drame.*

The Turkes also wyte in the abouesayde Asear, that Mahomet being then foure yeares olde, would dayely goe a fishing with little children: and once being alone in a field by himselfe, the angel Gabriel apparelled all in white appeared vnto hym in the forme of a man, who taking him by the hande, withdrew him asyde, and with a sharpe and fyne edged rasour opened his bzeast, and toke out his harte, oute of the whiche hee also toke a certaine blacke spotte of bloud, which is the cause (as the Turkes affirme) that deuils, and yll spirites, assault oꝝ attempte men, soꝝ it is common to all menne by nature to haue the aforesayde spotte oꝝ stayne: whiche done, incontinently the Angell cloased vp agayne his harte, and put it into his wonted place, clensing and spurging thereby his hearte, to the ende that neuer after, he might be subiecte to any suggestion oꝝ temptation of the diuell. Beholde now the fyrste sonde deuise and fable, wyritten in the fozesayde Asear, concerning the beginning of this our Propheete Mahomet. Ageyne hee addeth when this Turke Mahomet, began to write his Alkaron, that the sayd angel appeared to him again, saying: Mahomet, God from aboue saluteth thee, letting thee to knowe that thou must bee his Propheet, soꝝ thou art the moste perfectest of all his creatures: and that the angel further shewed him certein letters, willing him forthwith to read them, to whom he answered, that he could not reade: Reade (said the angel) in the name of thy creator: With which wordes he banished away, and departed from him. So then Mahomet returning glad & ioyful to his house, in passing thitherwards, he reported, that all the trees, stones, and beasts by the way, did vnto him both honour and reuerence, saying: Mahomet thou shalt bee the messenger of the highest. He wyiteth also in his Alkaron, in

*Mahomet
saluted of
stones beasts
and trees.*

a treatise

a trefise which he intituleth Alphata, a matter moze strange
and prodigious than the rest, where he affirmeth, that God
hath forgiven him all his offences, both present and to come. *Mahomet's*
And yet not contented with his aforesayd fictions, the better *pardon.*
to seduce & abuse y^e people, he fained that he had bin in Para-
dise, & said y^e on a night being asleepe in his bed, with one of his
eleven concubins, who had to name Axa, which was amongs the *Axa Ma-*
rest, his best beloved darling, herd one knock as a stranger at *homets his*
his doze, & rising to open it, y^e angell Gabriel (al couered with *chief darling*
white wings, bringing to him a beast whiter than milk, grea-
ter also something than an asse, which he called by name Albo-
rach) said unto him: god saluteth thee, & hath giue me in comma- *Mahomet*
demēt this night to conduct & bring thee to Paradise, there to co- *his beast cal-*
templat his most high & diuine misteries: & the angel said un- *led Albo-*
to him, Mount vp quickly on this beast, but y^e beast drew back *rach.*
wards, & wold not come nere him: to whom the angel sayd,
why wilt thou not y^e Mahomet ride on thee? I assure thee, y^e a
man moze perfect neither hath, nor shal come vpon thy back:
to whom y^e beast answered y^e he wold not come nigh him, on-
lesse he first wolde promise, y^e he might enter also with him
into Paradise, whom Mahomet in that behalf did consent to
gratify, & said y^e he was y^e first beast y^e euer should come into
Paradise. So Mahomet being then mounted, the angel toke in *The angell*
hand the bible, traouelling all the night to wardes Ierusalem, & *Gabriel foot*
being arrived in y^e temple there, they found all the messagers *man to Ma-*
& prophets of our saviour, who honored him, & besought him *homets*
to be unto god an intercessor for them: & departing out of the
temple, they found a ladder all framed of certen bright & blasing
light starres, which from the earth stretched euē vnto heauen
it self: and the angel taking then hold therof, they shortly as-
cended into the firste heauen, whiche was all of perfect sil-
uer, beautified with some starres hangyng in chains of gold,
as bigge to the view as hilles or mountayns: so knocking at
the gate of this first heauen, had it incontinently opened to
them, where they founde Adam, which embraced Mahomet. *Adam.*

P. y.

Thence

*Noe.**Abraham.**Ioseph.**Moyse.**S John Baptist.**Iesus Christ.*

Thence past they vnto the second heauen, which was altogether of pure and good gold, where hauing knockt, they entred and founde there *Poe*, where they did beholde the name also of God and *Mahomet* written together in euery place. From whence they past ageyn into the third heauen, which was of riche and precious stones, where they founde *Abraham*. And thence ageyn into the fourth heauen, whiche was all made of perfect *Emeraundes*, where they founde presently *Ioseph*. From thence they passed further into the fyft heauen which was all of *diamondes*, where they found *Moyse*. And from thence into the sirt heauen which was all of shyning carbuncles, where they founde *S. John the Baptiste*, who did vnto him humble honoz and reuerence. From thence they past into the seuenth heauen, whiche shined all with the bryghtnesse of the diuine maiestie, where they found *Christ Iesus*, with an infinite numbze of holy angels, whome *Mahomet* saluted in moste reuerent maner: and then the angel *Gabziell* toke his leaue of *Mahomet*, and *Mahomet* mounted yet againe higher, where he found great stoze of waters, and of snow, & there of his traucell he wared so weery that he was scantly able to go any further, and there he herd a voice that sayd vnto him in this maner: Oh *Mahomet*, honoure thou thy God, thy creato:, for thou approchest very nyghe vnto hym, and incontinently he seemed to be enuironed with suche bryghtenesse that his eyes were dazeled and began to fayle him: and he sayde that his maiestie had sire hundredth thousande curtaines or bayles hanging befoze his face, and that he was nygh vnto him, within the space of two shotes of a *Crobowe*: he sayde ageyne that God spake vnto him, and gaue him many commaundements of his lawe, reueling also vnto him infinite of his secrets. After all this, he yet also gaue him five great prerogatives.

Five prerogatives giuen to Mahomet

The fyfth, that he should be most honoured of all creatures liuing, in heauen aboue, or in earth beneath.

The seconde, that he should be the most famous Gentleman

man of all others the childzen of Adam.

The third, y he shold haue authoritie to pardon all finnes.

The fourth that he shoulde be skilfull in all languages.

The fifth, that all spoyle in warres shoulde be giuen to him. This done, he returned to the angel Gabziell in the place where he befoze had left him, who led him further to beholde, in what sorte the fendes tormented the damned soules in Hell. All whiche things and suche lyke trash and lyes, he hathe in a long discourse wrytten in his Alkaron, which for bzeuties sake I omitte and passe ouer: neuer had I wrytten so muche of him, as I haue done, if it had not bene to dissuade and dehort those, that do earnestly desire to peruse and reade his fond and foolish workes: and they may well iudge by that whiche is aboue alledged, the frantike and disordered humour of this unhappie Prophet, which did spewe and spitte out lyke a man senselesse, al that did fall into his idle bzaune, or fantasie, without any arte, skill, or order at all.

What trash
Mahomet
had gathered
in his
Alkaron.

It resteth now that I let you vnderstand by what means he enchanted and bewicht so many, to giue credite to his prodigious trumperies. Some there are that haue reported of him, that knowing certainly by often reading the Olde Testament, that when the lawe was giuen to Moyses in the mount Sinay, there were scene many signes, as thunders, lightnings, and suche lyke, as it is wrytten in Leuiticus the. xix. Cuen so he desiring with some apische deuise to counterfeite his dowings, caused to be hyd certain pots full of spile in the earth, vpon the top of an hygh or great mountayne, and had so wel tamed a sauage or wyld bull, that he would come to him as oftentimes as he pleased to call him, and hauing fastened certaine chapters of his Alkaron, vpon the hornes of the sayd bull, he assembled the greatest parte of the barbarous people of Arabia vpon the foresaid mountayne: where after he had vsed some kind of talke to them, he immediatly called his bull, who redily came to him,

The subtile
politic of
Mahomet.

from whiche bull he tooke these papers, which he before had fastened on hys hoznes, affirming to them that it was the lawe that God had sent them, which he there red and interpreted opely. And remaining there two days and two nights upon this mountain, the people being pinched with hunger, began to cry out, in a straunge manner: and then sayning as though he had prayed to God for them, immediately sayd to them, that God by inspiration had reueled vnto him certein places of the earth, whiche they should digge, wherein they should finde present remedy for their hunger: and immediately digging certein places in the ground, where it pleased him to commaunde them, they founde many vesselles full of milke, whiche he had caused to be hidden there not long before. Whiche thing in maruelous wise amazed the rude and simple people.

*A more
true opinion
of Maho-
met than the
first.*

*Mahomet
sent in the
vertue of the
sword.*

And some other saye (whiche is lyke to be more true) that Mahomet did neuer miracle either true or false: for (as he writeth of himself, in his Alkaron) he was not sent to do any miracles, because the people did vse to presse to deth and kill suche as God had sent them before time to call them to repentaunce: but he was sent, only with the sword, to do rigorous iustice on those that made no account of hys prophesies, for their incredulity, or that payd not tribute to him. And that he had no power to do any kinde of miracle, it appeareth euident in the booke intituled *Claris*, when dyuers Arabiens of sundry nations, sent to him (even then when he called himselfe a Prophet) in most intier maner, requiring him, to confirme his lawe and doctrine by some kinde of miracle, giuing him to vnderstand that their country was very barein, sterile, hilly, boyd both of water and victuals, that it might please hym therfore to desire of God, that he wolde make their countrey euen & plapn, abating the mountaynes, and send them springs plentiful in places of neede, and that he farther wold stirre vp and moue certein of the elders fully to instruct them if he taught the truth. But thys accursed

Prophet hauing small affiaunce, or rather none at all in the righte of thys cause, answered, that hee had communicated with God, and had receiued of him for answer, that whiche foloweth. Thy people demaund miracles, but tell them that heeretofore I sent them Partirs, Prophets, and Apostles, with infinite miracles, but they with bloudy hands most cruelly murdered them, and I will therefore, that the lawe be mainteyned by the sworde, and by the effusion of blood, vppon all suche as shall refuse to accepte or receyue the same. Beholde here, howe this traiterouse, and bloudy spirite, woulde frame and make of a moste mylde and mercifull G O D, an unkynde tiraunt, and cruel to men-ter. And surely I beleue, the greatest miracle that euer hee did, was that hee transfourmed so many creatures reason-able into beastes brute and insensible.

The lawe of Mahomet maintained by the sword and blood.

The greatest miracle that euer Mahomet did.

And now let vs returne agein to his Alkaron, (whiche is the booke wherin is contained al his false doctrin) and let vs see what inuentions and policies he deuised to aucthorise the same. Firste to bring it into some estimation, he sayde to his wife, that he dyd ordynarly common with the aungell Gabziell, who did shew him that God had chosen him for his Prophet. He was subiect to a sicknesse called Epilepsy, in the common tung the falling sicknesse, he was very subtil in deuising to couer his infirmite: for when he fell by the extremitie of his sicknesse, he sayd that then the angel of God dyd comon with him, & that he coulde not abide so great a brightnesse, therefore he was compelled to fall vppon the earth. He had by continuance of time taught a Pigeon to come ordynarly to fede in his eare, and sayned that it was the angel of God that did communicate certen secrets with him. And therefore at this day (in the cite of Meque where they say he is buried) it is an heinous offence to kill a pigeon, for the auncient reuerence they beare to that pigeon that was fed in his eare, and there is so great a number in the sayde cite of Meque, that no prouince in the world hath so many,

A policy to couer his losifome infirmite.

Meque. It is at this day an heinous offence to kill a pigeon.

*Sergius an
Apostata.*

*Sundry kinde
of heresies of
which Ma-
homet fra-
med his Al-
karon.*

*Alkaron a
collectiō of
chapters.*

*A marue-
louse reue-
rence done to
their Al-
karon.*

bycause that those that kill them (as we haue sayd) or eat a-
ny of them, are punished with the paines of death. These
doings being in this state, the Deuill did ayd him with a
new meane, the better to bying to passe his enterpryse to his
desired purpose. For there came to him a certain Sonke an
Apostata, called Sergius, which was a chustian (being then
fled from Constantinople for heresie) who did greatly ayde
him to frame the dreames containned in his Alkaron which
is composed of diuers peeces of heresies gathered together,
for all that whiche the Deuill himselfe could not bying to
passe by the Arians, Eunomyens, Sabolliens, Cardoniens, Ma-
nichiens, Donatistes, Origenistes, Anthropomorphites, he
found an instrument of Mahomet apt and well disposed to
serue hym as a trumpet, to spread abroad most affectuouly
their payson throughtoute the worlde. For he denyeth the
Trinitie with the Sabellians, the holy Ghost to be God with
the Macedoniens, he proueth the plurality of wiues with the
Nicholaites, with the Cardoniens he sayeth, that it was not
possible for God to haue a son, bycause he had no wife: with
the Manichees he denieth that Iesus Chzist was crucified,
with the Donatistes that the sacraments of the Church (af-
ter the passion of Iesus Chzist) had any force, with the Ori-
genistes he sayth the Diuel shal be saued, with the Anthro-
pomorphites, he putteth the chief felicitie in pleasure. This
word Alkaron, signifieth none other thing but a collection of
chapters, or a number of Psalmes: it is witten in miter,
& it is so streightly looked vnto, that if any man do chaunge
one sillable therof, or alter one accent, their law prouideth
that he that doth it, shall lose his life by stoning to death.
They haue it in so greate reuerence and honour that they
kisse it, embrace it, and sweare by it, as wee do by our God.
This Alkaron, containeth four booke, and doth contain who-
ly all their ceremonies, and all things that they must ob-
serue and do: And likewise what they shall hope of in the
worlde to come, and also those things that are lawfull for
them

them to doe, as well in eating as drinking: He hath taken
for the framing of this his booke certaine fragments as wel
of the Olde as newe Testaments: He reherſeth the offence
of Adam and Eue, the bondage of the children of Iſraell, he
putteth in the ſayde Alcaron thre notable things of Jeſus
Chriſte. The firſt is in the firſt Booke and ſecond Chapter,
he ſayth that Jeſus Chriſt aſcended into heauen both bodie
and ſoule: the ſeconde, that he is the ſonne of God: the thirde
that he is called the ſpirite of God. He doeth alſo affirme,
that Jeſus Chriſte knoweth the ſecretes of mennes hartes,
that he raiſed the deade, gaue ſighte to the blinde, and made
the dumme to ſpeake, he deſcribeth a Paradiſe and a Hell.
As touching his Hell, he ſayeth that thoſe that be dampned,
be put vpon yokes of iron, and that thoſe men that be
there, be alwayes drie and thirſtie, and they drinke boyled
Leade, and eate filthie and corrupt meates, and Apples of a
tree, wherof the frute is the ſeede and beginning of Sinners.
And as touching his Heauen, he maketh it to be full of all
pleaſures and delightes, and ſayth that there is nothing but
precious ſtones, and that a man ſhall drinke and eate there
the moſte delicate meates and drinks that can be wiſhed,
and ſhall be ſerued in nothing but in golde and ſiluer: And
ſhall not wiſhe for any thing, but it ſhall be preſent by and
by. And thoſe that be in their Paradiſe (after they haue wel
eaten and drunke) there ſhall appere certaine Pages which
ſhall holde eache of them a diſhe of Golde in his hand, carry-
ing a greate Citron within it, the which eache Turk ſhall
take to ſmell vnto, and ſodenly as they ſnell vnto it, there
ſhall ſpring out of eache Citron a virgine, well appoynted
in apparel, which ſhall embrace theſe Turkes that be in this
Paradiſe, and they ſhall continue ſo fiftie yeares, neuer re-
ſtrained to take their pleaſure together, but euen as though
they were man and wife: and at the end of ſiſcie yeres, God
ſhall call them, and taking away a cloth wherewith he coue-
reth his face, they ſhall fall downe incontinently throneth

*A fanta-
ſtical hell of
Mahomet.*

*A ridiculous
Paradiſe.*

D.J.

his

*Of this mat-
ter rede the
four booke
of his Al-
karon tran-
slated out of
the Araby
tong into the
latine.*

his great brightnesse. Afterwardes he shall say vnto them, rise you my friends, & enioy this brightnesse, you shal neuer hereafter die, nor take any care or thoughte. And hauing thus seene their Godface to face, they shall begin to banquet againe. And he sayth, that those Virgins be strongly inclosed within a wall, and kepte close, for they be of suche a rare and excellent beautie, that if one of them shall (euen at midnight) issue out of this Paradise, she will by hir brightnesse lighten the whole world as if it were the sunne: and he ioyneth further therunto, that if any of them shall spit into the sea, the water would be made as swete as Honie. And to be shor't, he faineth in his Alkaron, that Paradise is all of gold decked with Pearles, watered with the most beautifull and clearest waters in the world: and he sayth, that they haue there, Houses garnished and trimmed as they be vpon the earth: and dothe describe also to be there, a magnificall and noble pallace. He wyrteth that women goe not to Paradise, neither do they goe to the Church, bicause they are not circumcised.

Now after hauing thus described this fantastickall Paradise, and this Hell of Mahomet, which is so ridiculous, that in reading of it thou shalt finde lesse to appoche the truthe, than one of the said Esopes Fables. It now resteth for vs to shewe by what meanes he could bewitch so many people, and persuaade them so well, that they receiued his false Doctrine for truth, the meanes wherto was this. In the beginning he did not communicate his false doctrine, but to those of his owne household, next to his neighbors, afterwards to to the common people, & specially to such as were the most grosse witted, and to carnal men: for he doth permit in his law all the vices of the fleshe, with all libertie (of the which kinde there was at that time a greate numbre thowoute the world,) and perceluing him selfe riche and greatly fauoured of fortune, he gathered togithers a great companie of his owne secte and religion. And when he sawe him selfe

wel

well appoynted and strong, he assailed his neighboures, and so made him selfe Lord of many Nations and Prouinces. These things were a doing about the yeare of our Lord five hundredzeth (Eracleus being then Emperoure of Rome, and holding his seate at Constantinople, and Bonifatius the fiftie then also Pope.) Mahomet seeing his affaires prosper so well, yet somewhat dispairing his successe, did forbidde, that any man shoulde dispute vpon the manner of his Lawe, and so by this meanes he made it to be obserued by force. Afterwardes he went to assaile the Countreys of Romaine Empire: he entred into Syria, conquered the Noble Citie of Damasco, and all Egypte and Iuda, perswading the Sarazens, (people of Arabia,) that the lande of permission appertained to them of good righte, as the lawfull heyes and successoures of Abraham. After he had Conquered diuers Prouinces and Regions, he was poysoned, and dyed about the age of foure and thirtie yeares, and in the yeare of oure Lord five hundred thirtie and two (after the accompte of Sabellicus.) And bicause he alwayes vaunted him selfe that after his Deathe he shoulde ascende into Heauen, his Disciples kepte his bodie (stinking vpon the earthe) certaine dayes after he dyed, untill it was corrupted as his soule was.

Afterwardes he was entombed with a Tombe of yron, and caryed to Meque aforesaid, a towne in Persia, where he is at this day honoured of all the people of the Caste, yea euen of the greatest parte of the worlde, and this is for oure sinnes and wickednesse, and we may therfore easily be perswaded and beleue that he was sente as a scourge (euen by the permission of God,) to chasten the Christians, as he did send long sithens an Antiochus, a Cyrus, and a Nabuchodonozor to oppresse his peculiar people the Jewes. This is therfore no new thing that the Lord dothe execute his iustice against his owne, by such tyrants and wicked men as Mahomet was, the Lord hath geuen vs to vnderstand the same by

D.g.

the

The anc-
thors that in
treate of this
matter.

Platina,
P. Lætus,
Sabellicus,
P. Iouius,
Pope Pius,
Belon,
P. Mellia,
Arnoldus,
Romianus,
Crispus,
Florētinus,
Franciscus,
Barnardus
in his catho-
loge of here-
tics.

Mahomet
died being 34
yeres of age.

The priest
that was a
traveller
sheweth it in
his geogra-
phie.

The good
chastened for
the euill.

the Prophet Esay where he sayth: I haue called my mightie and strong men in my wrath, I haue called them my holy ones, to the ende they shall glory in my name: the Prophet pronouncing these words, spake of King Darius and Cyrus. Marke loe how he calleth the *Medes and Persians* his holy ones, who were neither good nor holy, but onely the executors of his will and pleasure to chastise *Babylon*: he speaketh the like in Ezechiel, where he saith, I wil guide and lead my seruauent Nabuchodonosar, bicause he did serue me faithfully at *Tyre*, and I will giue him also *Egypt*: yet he was not for all that the seruauent of God. Totilla King of the *Goths* being

Peter Messias
in his forest.

A meruel-
lous perswa-
sio of a tirat
that he said
he was sent
of God vpon
the earth to
punish his
people.

Mahomet
the most grea-
test enemy
of the church
of God that
ever was.

The church
of God shall
endure for e-
uer.

ing demaunded wherefore he was so cruell and extreme against the people, answered with a marvellous faith therein, what thinkest thou that I am other than the very wrath and scourge of God, sent vpon the earth as an instrument to chasten the offences and wickednesse of the people? We may evidently therefore knowe by these things that God doth for the most part correct and chasten vs by the wicked, (who neuerthelesse doe not cease to be wicked still, and deserue them selues plagues:) for according to the word of the Lord and sanctoure, it is necessary there come slaunder, but cursed be he by whome slaunder shall come. Behold lo the attempts and furious assaults that Sathan and his complices haue framed, against the Church of Iesus Christe & his Doctrine: for there is no religion that he hath persecuted so cruelly from the beginning of the world as he hath done ours, and although he hath vttered all his subtleties, craftes, malices and inuentions to ouerrun it, and suppress it, yet it remaineth still perfect by the goodnesse and aid of our sauior Iesus Christe, who dothe repress and brydle the malicious and paysoned rage of his enemy: and although he hath procured the death of some members of the Church, & that of y most auncients and greatest clarks, as Abel, Esay, Zacharie, Ieremie, Iesus Christ, the Apostles, & many holy Bishops, as Polycarpus, Ignatius, and many, 1000. of Martyrs and others,

thers, yet he could not ouerthrow the same. For it is wryt-
ten that the gates of Hell shall not prevail, nor stand against
it: and although by continuance and revolution of time it
hath bene & shall be put in great danger and peril, and that it
hath bene and is turmoiled and tossed as a ship by the rage
and violence of the tempests, yet Jesus Christ will neuer a-
bandon or leaue his spouse, but he will alwayes assiste hir,
as the heade dothe the body, he watcheth for hir, he keepeth,
preserueth, and maintaineth hir, as y^e promise by him made
dothe witnesse, where it is said, I wil not leaue you as Do-
phanes, I will be with you even vnto the consumption of
the world. And in Esay it is saide, I wil put my words into
thy mouth, and I will defend thee with the shadowe of my
hand, and in the .59. chapter, he saith, this is my alliance that
I haue made with thee (sayth the Lord) my spize which is
in thee, and my words which I haue put in thy mouth, they
shall not departe nor goe out of thy mouth, nor oute of the
mouth of thy seede from hence forth for ever. Seeing then
oure religion onely to be true and pure, and that it hath
bene sealed with the blood of so many Prophets, Apostles,
and Martyrs, and specially sealed with the scale of the blood
of Jesus Christ our savior, wherof he hath left vnto vs the
very marke, Carrekte, and witnesse in his death, and that al
the other be vnlawful and bastardes, inuented & deuised by
the deuil (or men his instrumēt) to the confusion of oures,
I wold wish that Princes, who are Gods lieutenants vpon
the earth) for as much as they be called the children and
nurses of the Church (by the Prophet Esay,) and that they
be the pillars and strength that it oughte to be stayed by, I
would wishe (I say) they shuld imploy themselves to main-
taine it, defende it, conserue it, confirme it, and amplifie it,
that they might at the latter day whē they shall appere be-
fore the maiestie of God, say that which that good King Da-
uid saide, Lord I haue hated those that thou haste hated, and
haue bene angry with them that haue lifted themselves a-

gainst

gainst

*Martyres
for the word
of God.*

*Jesus Christ
keeper, spouse,
and head of
this Church.*

*The infants
of god be not
orphans, Iesus
Christ will
assist them at
all times.
Esay. ca. 50.*

*I say witnes-
sed by 7 say.*

*An exhor-
tation to prin-
ces gathered
of the things
before reher-
sed.*

Psalmc. 138.

Psalmc. 100.

Ezechias a
chief enimie
to Idolaters.
4 Kings. 8.

Josias burnt
the Idollies.
4 Kings. 23.
Anger pro-
ceeding of v.
rue.
Two mur-
thers com-
mitted by
Mathathi-
as for Idola-
trie.
2. Macha. 3.

The angells
do chastise
Idolatrie.

Pompeius
was plagued
for his offence

gainst the, I haue hated them withall my heart, and accom-
ted them as mine enemies, I haue destroyed euery day all
those cursed and wicked people, to the end I might put out
of the citie of the Lord, all suche as giue them selues to wic-
kednesse. And now let vs harken what testimonie the holy
scripture doth giue vs of the zeale that kings in the olde time
did beare vnto their religion (which was but a figure & sha-
dow to ours,) what was it that hath made Ezechias King of
Iuda so greatly to be praised and honozed amōgs men, but
bicause he tooke away those hault Gods, bet downe the pil-
lers, quashed and brake in peeces the brasen Serpent, that
the people of Israel did make sacrifices vnto: What hath
made the memoire of Josias to endure vnto these our dayes,
but bicause he amongst other his commendable vertues
burnt the Idollies, Churches, images and altares that was
made to the dishonoz and contempte of God: The time noz
the puissance therof shall neuer extinguishe the memoire of
Mathathias, father to Machabeus, who being moued with
zelous choller, & inflamed with a diuine furoz, killed a few
vppon the altare that did sacrifice to Idollies, and that in the
presence of all the people: and in like maner being moued
with the same zeale, he put to death an other that Antiochus
had sent to doe sacrifice. And aboue all things let Princes
haue good regards, that in stead of defending the church, they
do not persecute the same: for if they do, they cannot eschue
the iust vengeaunce of the wrath of God, as we haue exam-
ple by Helidorus, who robbing and spoiling the Church of
Ierusalem of the mony and goods that was appoynted for the
reliefe of Widowes and Orphanes, was so punished by the
Angels that ruled and gouerned in the temple, as he remai-
neth as an example for euer to others. Pompeius after that
he had cruelly polluted and prophaned the same Temple,
coude not escape the scourge of God, but euen by the victo-
rie that Cesar had of him in the ciuill warres it did appeare
he was iustly corrected for his offence. Marcus Crassus pas-
sing

ling by Ierusalem with his army against the Parthians, could not forbeare to robbe and spoile the temple: but as Iosephus wryteth, the paine of the Sacriledge was not long after the offence: for euen at the same assaute his armie was destroyed, and him selfe miserably slaine. And if we will search the Histories well, we shall finde marvellous plagues of God laide vppon Pharao for the oppressions that he made to the sinagoge (which was but as a figure of our Church) who after that he had ben afflicted with .x. marvellous plagues, was in the ende swallowed vp and drowned by the violence of the seas. Senacherib king of the Assyrians likewise persecuting the Church, saue befoze his owne eyes (euen by the handes of the Angels of god) al his armie ouerthrowne, & afterwards he himselfe had his head cut of by his own children in the temple of his gods. But how was that great monarch Antioch plagued, who seeking all the meanes he could to extinguishe the memorie of the sinagoge of God, and to bring in the honoring of Idolles, had he not (in satisfaction of his crueltie) his body eaten with vermine, and became so odious and filthy withall, that the stinke that came out of the corruption of his bodie did infecte his whole armie? Thus he, who by his pride thought to commaund the waues of the sea to stay, and to waigh in the balance the highe mountaines, and that was so puffed vp with ambition, that he thoughte to reache the starres in heauen, was so brought downe by the fearful iudgement of God, that no man coulde abide his stinking and corruption, and for that he did cruelly handle the seruantes of God, he died as a stranger in the mountaines, of a death worthy his wicked life. Herodotus likewise for persecuting the Church, died of the like death. Nero that infamous butcher, who hath lefte none other memorie to his posteritie, but his murders, and tyrannies, after that he had raised many persecutions against the Church, being noted chiefe enemy of the Common wealthe, in the ende executed Justice him selfe vppon his miserable bodie.

*Marcus
Crassus.*

*Pharao.
Exod. ca. 14.*

*Senacherib.
4. Kings. 16.
The father
killed by his
owne childre
in the temple.
Antiochus
eaten with
lice being a
line.*

*2. Macha. ca.
19.*

*The death
of Herod.
Act ca 12.*

Doni.

*Constantine
the younger
Cassiodore.*

*Olimpus bi-
shop, destroyed
with thunder.*

*Julianus kil-
led with an
halbard.*

*The empe-
ror Valeri-
anus burnt
in a house.
Theodore
Attillus
Totillus
Frederik
and other
emperours e-
uill handled
and plaged.*

Domitianus did succēde him in the like crueltie : After this Dioclesianus, Maximilianus, Constantius and other like vermine, of whome we haue heretofore made mention, that haue sought the decay and ruine of the church, and murthered the ministers of the worde of God, did receiue an ende agreable to the wickednesse of their liues. Constantinus the younger sonne of the great Emperoz Constantinus, who degenerated from the religion of his ffather, fauoring the secte of the Arrians, was sodenly suffocated and choked with the Apoplexie. Cherinthus likewise choked in bathing him selfe. Arius died vpon a pziue. Olympus Bishop of Carthage after he had pronounced and vttered many blasphemies against the Trinitie, was presently stricken with thre claps of Thunder, and died therewithall, and his bodye when he was found deade all togither bzent. Iulianus the Apostata was thrust thorow with a halberte by a souldier, and so ended his dayes. Valentius the Emperoz was vāquished with the Gothes, whome he had infected with heresie, Darius likewise as he was persecuting the Chzistians, was consumed with fire in a little house : what neede is there after all these to make any remembzance of Theodorike King of the Gothes, Attillus, Totillus, Fredericke the seconde, Leon the third, Emperors, with an infinite number of other Princes and Monarches, who for persecuting the Chzistian church, haue tasted the right hande of God so sharply, that the memory of them shall neuer be buried nor extinde : The good Princes and true seruants of God (according to the example giuen by Constantinus the Great also named) ought to be defenders, tutoures, conseruaters, and members of the Church, and not to spare or restraine their mightie handes, or any other force that God hath giuen them for the furtherance therof : For they haue receiued the administration of the Kingdoms, and the dignitie of their Crownes and scepters with such charge. And now for a full conclusion of all our examples, we wil adde one other notable testimonie of the

the obedience of one Emperour written at large in the Tripartite historie, as it was done. Theodosius the great, being aduertized of a certain emotion that was sprung up amongs the Magistrates and common people of *Thessalonie*, and of the controuersie, that it greiue to the destruction of some of the Judges: The Emperour being aduertized thereof, and being withall surprized with so great anger, that he could not stave hymselfe, withoute any further inquisition of the matter, or order of lawe, byd commaunde that all the Inhabitauntes there, shoulde be put to the sword, whyche was done wyth all diligence by his menne of armes. And by thys execution, there dyed very nere seauen thousande persones, as well the innocente as the guiltie. Sainct Ambrose hauyng vnderstandyng of thys cruell slaughter to be done by the commaundemente of the Emperoure Theodosius, was maruellous sorrowfull, and vpon a tyme as the sayde Emperour wold haue entred into the Church, he came befoze him, and so bad him to enter, and vsing his Episcopall authoritie, sayde vnto hym: Theodosius dost thou remember the butcherie that thou haste caused to be done: arte thou so blynded wyth thys Imperiall dignitie, that thou haste forgotten thyne offence: Howe darest thou come to beeholde these sacred Mysteries of the Temple with thyne eyes polluted by the bloude of innocentes: Doe penance for thyne offence, and sequester thy selfe from the Communion of the faythfull, take hede how thou entrest into the Church, and doe then condemne thy selfe, and thynke thy selfe vntowrthy to enter amongs them: and when thou hast wyth teares of the compunction of thy hearte, acknowledged thyne offence, the Church shall open her bosome, and receyue thee as one of hers. The good Emperoure hauyng perceyued the intente of this holy Bishoppe, was greatly moued in hys spyrite: Afterwardes wyth tremblyng and bewaylyng, retourned to his palace, where as he remayned eyght whole Moneths in sorrowe

P.s.

and

and heauinesse, and in continuall lamentation, doing penance, cladding hymselfe with haire, and takyng Ashes: Afterwardes one day in Christmasse, he presented himselfe before Sainct Ambrose, desyryng to bee incorporated ageyn wyth the other membez of the Church, from the whiche hee was cut off as a corrupte membre: Whiche was done to him, havyng fyrste protested, neuer hereafter to enterpryse to do any thing untill by reason he do put off heat and choler, enemitie to truthe and equitie. Behold lo, a maruellous testimonie of humilitie in an Emperour, whiche maye serue as an example to all Princes, to do the lyke where there is at any tyme any matter in question touching their common wealth, and the health of their soules.

¶ The eyght Chapter.

Hovve that Princes oughte to eschue and put avvaye all furiousnesse and pryde, and that they oughte not to truste too muche in their force and myghtynesse: vvith a declaration of the humayne myseries, and to hovve many accidentes of myffortune oure lyues are subiect, vvith also diuers examples hovv many descended of a meane and vnknowne blood, haue bene aduanced to the estate of Kings, Princes, and Emperours: and hovve contraryvvise, many takyng theyr originall of noble blood and progenie, vvhen they vv ere in the full complement of all prosperitie, haue ben through their vvicked and abhominable dooings (by the diuine permission) shamefully ouerthrowne and driuen out of their kingdomes and dominions.

¶ Having



Aving in this last Chapter intreated of Religion, and that bræfly (in respect of the worthinesse thereof) it seemeth unto vs nowe moſte necessarie (befoze we enter any further) ſome thing to ſpeak of modeſtie (a vertue moſt requiſite for Princes, and all others that ſitte in the place of honour and dignitie) becauſe that thoſe whiche haue the gouerne-

mente and ouerſight of the people are for the moſte parte haughtie, and beare themſelues very muche of their myght and power, which ingendreth in them great ambition & much vainglorie, for a certain opinion that they do conceiue of them ſelues, ſpringing of the great degre and ſtate of honoz & they ſeele themſelues to be placed & ſet in. We do therfore greatly wiſh, & thoſe princes & gouerners which be ſubiect to ſuch infirmities ſhould ſubdue that imperfeciō by reſon, & frame themſelues to modeſtie, gentlenes & humanitie, which ſhall ſerue them alwayes as byddes & ſtays to moderate their pride and inſolencie (a diſeaſe ſurely eaſily to be cured) if they wil enter into themſelues, and haue good cōſideration of their owne proper natures, and withall continually remember that they are but men, ſoymed and made of the ſlyme of the earth as others be, which that good king Salomon did acknowledge in himſelfe, when he ſayd: My bodye is paſſable and moztall as others be, and ſhall reſolue agayne into aſhes and duſt, as the bodies of them, whome I gouerne and rule.

And to the ende we maye the better pull this maladie by the rootes, (whyche is a wor-me that dothe continually gnawe and byte) it is firſt neceſſary for vs to conſider what man is, and to howe many miſeries and calamities this our

W. g.

transi-

Great dignities and authoritie engendreth ambition, pride, vayne glory and loue of them ſelues.

The conſideration of our owne natures is a good medicine againſt ambition.
Wiſdom. ca. 7.

An excellent description of the humaine calamities after the testimony of sundry authors as well sacred as prophane.

Weeping and crying is mannes inheritance.

Man only is borne to be furious and proud.

transitorie lyfe is subiecte vnto: whyche wee will firste declare by the testimonie of the auncient Philosophers: and afterwarde (following our accustomed manner) wee will haue our laste refuge to the sacred Scriptures. Many auncient Philosophers hauing considered man in all his partes, and comparing him wpyth other beastes, did as it were quarrell with Nature, that she had created him so imperfect and vile, to be subiect to so many myseries and infirmities: in so much that they began to blaspheme her, and cal her (in steede of a naturall mother,) a cruell stepmother. Lette vs note a little that great searcher of nature Plinie in the seventh booke of his natural hystorie how he hath paynted out (in his right colours) this ambitious man, where he sayth, Man doth couer his body with things growing of other beastes, to whom Nature hath giuen to some feathers, to some haire, to some skinnies, to some scales, and to other some wool: and in lyke maner hath disposed her fauour to herbes & trees, which she hath couered with barkes for a defence against the iniurie of the cold & the violence of the heat: but as for man (sayth he) euen as a thing boyne before the time, and as it were in disdayn and despite, she hath broughte him forth naked into the earthe, and in the daye of his natiuitie, hath giuen him Teares for his inheritance, whiche dothe prognosticate his calamities and miseries to come. Marke lo the chiefe of the workes of nature, who if he were abandoned the ayde and helpe of others, is so weake and feeble of himselfe, that hee woulde bee eaten and deuoured by other wyld and cruell beastes. Behold well the actes and triumphs of him which ought vniuersally to commaunde all, and for whose vse all things are created and made: mark him I say, when he passeth out of the entrayles of his mother, and thou shalt see him layd bound vpon the earth, euen immouable as a stock or stone: and beholde him who is only boyne to be furious and proud, beginneth his lyfe with paine and trouble, whose birth is onely the cause therof. And I praye you, when be-
ginneth

giueth he to go, or when hath he the vse of his speache: to howe many incommodities and infirmities is he subiecte: all other beastes doe knowe euen of theyr owne nature (as some as they are brought forth vpon the earth) to helpe themselves, some with their swiftenesse, some with theyr strength and force, other some with their voyce: but man knoweth nothing except he be taught, no not so muche as to speake or eate: and to bee shorte, hee can doe nothing of his owne nature but weepe: He is only (amongst all other beastes) subiecte to paines, to passions, to pleasures, to ambition, to couetousnesse, and without all measure desirous to lyue, onely giuen to superstition, onely to care for things that shall come after him: and in conclusion he is only subiect to enuie and malice: and other beastes liue in peace and quietnesse with those of theyr owne kinde: the Lyons vse no crueltie agaynst the Lyons, the Serpents doe not pursue one an other: but Man is onely enimie to man by his owne kinde. Wherefore some Philosophers (as Heraclitus, and suche others) did during all their lyfe tyme, bewaile the calamities and miseries of mankynd: for he always when hee passed thorough the streetes, accompanied his steppes with teares, for he did well consider and see, that all our lyfe dyd consist in nothing but miserie and wretchednesse, and all things wherein menne were exercised, did seeme vnto him worthy compassion, as well for their paine and trauell as for the offences and sinne that they dyd dayly committe: And the better to consider (at his pleasure) of the miserie of this our humaine life, he sequestred himself from out all company, and strayed about in the deserts, liuing vpon fruit and rotes. He did vpon a tyme write a letter to king Darius, (as Diogenes Laertius sayeth) wherein he did aduertise him, that all the inhabitants of the earth were corrupted and vlied, and that they had Justice in contempte and hatred, and gaue them selues to vayne glory and avarice, and that they were flatterers and couetous men: and seeing them thus oute of

Man only borne to ambition avarice and to marvellous desire to liue.

The opinion of Heraclitus of the life of man.

A Philosopher that did continually bewaile the humane miseries.

order (sayde he) I determine with my selfe to eschue their companie, and to searche oute solitarie places, the better to enter into contemplation and miserable lamentation, least I shoulde be partaker of their wickednesse.

Democritus did laugh continually at the humaine miseries.
 There was an other Philosopher called Democritus, muche lyke vnto him, that did as much lament the miseries and wretchednesse of our lyfe as he, but after a moze strange manner: for he alwayes passing through the strates, did nothing else but laugh continually with open mouth: and being demaunded of him the occasion of his disordinate laughter, he answered, that the doings of mankynde deserued nothing else but perpetuall mockerie, and that all our humaine lyfe was but vanitie and foolishnesse: and all the desires and appetites of men were but fondnesse, grounded vpon ambition, auarice, hatred, malice, and suche other lyke vices. And hee being thus plunged into the contemplation of these things, wente vp and downe the strates laughing, as the other did weeping. Other Philosophers write, that it had ben good for man neuer to haue bene bozne, or else as sone as he was bozn, presently to haue died. Theodorus a Greke Poet by these verses folowing doth confirme the same.

*Happie is hee, most happie is that man,
 Whose happe so good as neuer borne to bee:
 Or if he bee, twice happie is he than,
 Quickly to dye, for so at ease is hee,
 Assured well, when earth hath him in store,
 That none afflicte shall touche him any more.*

And Posidippus, Ciniciensis in his first booke of his Greke Epigrams hath very wel described the incertitude of mans life and the miseries wherewith he is continually afflicted.

*Tell me frende I pray thee, what sure way to finde,
 To liue in the worlde without carks and care of mynde.
 What way shall I treade, what trauell shall I assay?
 The Courts of plea by brall and hate, dryue peace away.*

In house with wyfe and chylde, muche ioye is very rare:
With tranayle and toyle enough in fieldes we vse to fare.
Vppon the sea lyeth dreade, the ryche in forreyn lande
Doo feare the losse, and the poore lyke mysers poorly stande.
Wyfe without stryfe is very rare and harde to see,
Tong brats a trouble, and with great care brought vp they bee
Touthe fonde, age bath no harte, and pincheth all too nye,
Chooſe then one of theſe two, no lyfe, or ſoone to dye.

It is not then without god cauſe, that the great & heuenly
Philosopher Iob (the very exāple of paciēce) did lament the
houre of his natiuitie, & wiſhed y he had ben caried from his
mothers womb to his graue, in ſo much y he curſed the daye
that he was brought forth into this miſerable worlde, and the
night in which he was cōceiued. And that god & holy prophet
Hieremie (ſāctified in y womb of his mother) did lament y day
of his birth, deſiring that y time y his mother did cōceiue him
might not be bliſſed, adding to it afterwards: *Wherefore* (ſaid
he) *am I come out of my mothers womb to ſee al this miſe-*
rie & troubles? As likewise y maruellous oracle of wiſdom
Salomon ſayth in Eccleſiaſt. that the day of his death ſhould be
better to him thā the day of his natiuitie, knowing very wel
that our life is but a ſea of miſery and tribulation. *Whereby*
pon that notable doctoꝝ S. Hierom explicating vpon the paſ-
ſage of this our life proueth by many reaſons, y thoſe y fight
againſt the aſſaults of ſin in this caducall life be in a miſera-
ble caſe, in reſpect of the felicitie of the dead, whiche are diſ-
charged therof. And that famous *Greeke* doctoꝝ Origen ſp-
pon the expolition of theſe wordes: *The woman that hath*
conceyued ſede, and hath ingendred a man chylde, ſhall be
uncleane, exaggarating the calamities of our lyfe, wyſteth ry that euer
that he neuer red in any authoꝝ, that euer the ſaints oꝝ any
other, that haue made any profeſſion of our religion, did cele-
brate the day of the natiuitie with banquet oꝝ feaſt, oꝝ the day
of the birthe of theyꝝ chyldꝝ: but the wicked (onely) the birth of
did any childe.

*The miſerie
of mans life
deſcribed in
the Eccleſia-
ſtes.*

*S. Ierome.
Origen.*

Leuitic ca 12.

*It is not red
in any hiſto-
buncleane, exaggarating the calamities of our lyfe, wyſteth ry that euer
that he neuer red in any authoꝝ, that euer the ſaints oꝝ any
other, that haue made any profeſſion of our religion, did cele-
brate the day of the natiuitie with banquet oꝝ feaſt, oꝝ the day
of the birthe of theyꝝ chyldꝝ: but the wicked (onely) the birth of
did any childe.*

did reioyce at the daye of their natiuitie, as it is w^ritten in the olde Testament, that Pharao king of Egyp^t did: and in the new Testament Herode, who celebrating their natiuities with greate triumph didde pollute and defyle the same with the effusion of innocent bloud. For the one did bypon the same day, murder his chiefe baker: the other caused the head of S. John the Prophete to be cut off: but (sayde he) it was farre from the thoughts of the holy and vertuous men to solemnize such days with any token of reioycing or gladnesse. For they rather had the same in hor^rour and hatred, and did blaspheme the same, as did Iob and Ieremie, with many others: which they wold neuer haue done if they had not knowne some thing therein wo^rthy of malediction. And truly if we wil wel wey & consider þe wickednesse that is in this miserable & frayle life, and wil haue a sure faith in the gospel of Iesus Christ, & a firme & stedfast hope in the resurrection, & of eternal life, we shal haue iust occasion to followe the maner of doings that the Thracians did vse, & other Paynims (who had no hope that there was any other life :) they wold go alwayes to þe burying of their frends with much ioy & gladnesse, assuring themselues that they wer most happie whiche were deliuered from the calamities and troubles of this life: as to the contrary at the birth of their child^re, they did lament for the troubles & sorowes that was prepared for the in this miserable wo^rld. We reade þe like of the Indians, Celsiens, Cautiens, Gymnosophists, Brokmans, and Thracians, who did praise þe day of the death of those that haue liued ver tuously, and not the day of their natiuitie: as the Greke Poet doth shewe vnto vs in his Booke of Epigrams as foloweth.

The Thracians lamented alwayes at the birth of any child, and did reioyce at the honre of their death.
Herodotus.
Valerius
Maximus.
Pomponius
Mela.
Solon.

*Above all lawes and orders of olde dayes,
 Whereof the mynde to this day is not worne,
 The Thracian worlde 7 most commende and prayse,
 That bad men weepe, when children there were borne,
 As token true, of woe in lyfe to come:*

Bar

But on that childe whom once the graue had wonne,
They had men ioy, when suche a one was ded,
As witnesse iuste that all his wo was fled.

Plato the mosse worthiest of all the Ethnike Philoso-
phers, vnderstanding the little affinitie that the body hathe
with the soule, doth call it the Sepulchre wherein the soule
is buried, and sayth, that death is nothing else but the very
pozte of immortallitie: who did so well dispute of the mis-
eries of this transitorie life, and of the felicities that are pre-
pared for vs in the other, that many reading his Bookes
of the immortallitie of the soule, did maruellous willingly
seeke their owne destructions, some casting them selues
downe headlong from a highe rocke into the sea, to the ende
they might taste and enioy the celestiaall riches which are
promised for them in the seconde lyfe, as it is confirmed by
a Greeke Epigram of Cleombrotus.

*The body is
the sepul-
chre of the
soule by Pla-
to his opini-
on.
S. Augustine
de ciuitate
dei.
Lactantius
Firmianus.*

Cleombrotus that from a highe Mountayne
Threw him selfe downe, so breake his necke thereby,
What was the cause? but that he thought it playne
Myserie to liue, and happie life to dye,
Grounding him selfe on Platos minde and skill,
That sayes the soule abides immortall still:
Adding hereto, that Socrates had taught,
How that this life is to be set at naught.

But these matters would not see ne vnto vs any thing
straunge nor maruellous, if we would consider how that
S. Paule being stirred vp with a spirituall affection, desir-
ed to be dissolved from this terrestriall prison to triumph
in heauen with Iesus Christe his Captayne and redeemer:
And that great prophet Ionas, who prayed the Lord that he
would separate his soule from the body, (because sayth he)
that death seemeth better to me than lyfe. Marcus Aurelius
D. J. Emperour

*S. Paule de-
sired death.*

*Man a
beast insati-
able.*

*An excel-
lent descrip-
tion of hu-
mane misfe-
rie.*

*The miseries
and calamities
whereunto
we are sub-
iect be the ve-
ry mirrors
of the proud.*

Emperour of the *Romans*, no lesse to be accounted a Philo-
sopher, than he was a worthy Emperour, hauing proued al
the passions, rigours, and calamities, wherevnto the whole
life of man is subiect, did confesse frankly of him selfe, that
in 50. yeres which he had liued, he neuer found any thing in
this world wherewith he was satisfied or content (saith thus)
I will confesse this one thing (although it shal be some infamie
vnto me, but peradventure hereafter profitable to some
others) that in 50. yeres of my life I haue tasted all the wic-
kednesse and vice of this world, to see if there had bene any
thing that could satisfie the humane malice & affection: And
after that I had proued al, I found that the more I did eate,
the more I did hunger: the more I slept, the more desirous
I was to sleepe: the more I drunke, the thirstier I was: the
more I rested, the more I brake: the more I had, the more
I desired: the more I searched, the lesse I found: and in con-
clusion I neuer desired any thing, but hauing it once in my
possession, I found my selfe maruelously annoyed withal, and
incontinently wished some other thing, so that this our lyfe
seemed vnto me so piteous and miserable, that as I thinke if
any old man that doth leaue this transitoze life, wold make
vnto vs a whole discourse and rehearsal of his life past from
the time that he passed out of his mothers wombe, vntil the
houre of his death, and the body should recount all the sorowes
that it hath suffered, and the soule discover all the as-
sautes of fortune that it did abide, bothe the Gods and men
would maruell at the body that had endured so much, and
at the harte that did dissemble the same. This doctrine vpon
the miserie of mans life thus alleaged by vs, is not vnpro-
fitable, for it may serue as a myrrour or example to beate
downe the hautesse and high minde of Princes and great
Lords when they seele them selues stirred or prouoked to
vayne glozy: for if they would consider the common begin-
ning of all, the firste matter whereof we are made, and
how we be all continued of lyke Elements, bought all
with

with one blood, hauing one common enimie (I meane Sa-
 than) nourished and fed all with like Sacraments, al incoꝝ,
 pozated in one Church, fighting all vnder one Captayne,
 (which is Iesus Chꝛyst) trusting in one onely rewarde, all
 subiect to vices and passions, and all indifferent to death,
 they would then thinke there is no difference betwene the
 most vilest creatures of the earth, and them selues, but only
 in a litle dignitie caducall & transitoꝛie, which shall vanish
 away as the smoke. And let vs now mark how the prophet
 Ozeas doth condemne the insolencie and pꝛide of them that
 do magnifie and exalte themselves of their mightinesse and
 great birth: Their gloꝛy (sayth he) is all vpon their mo-
 thers womb, of their conception and birth. And the prophet
 Malachie sayth, haue we not al one father, are we not crea-
 ted of one Loꝝd and God: wherfoꝛe is it then that eche one
 contemneth his bꝛother? willing to let vs vnderstande by
 this their doctrine, that this name of noblenesse is a bayne
 title giuen to men, the desert wherof is of none account in
 the sight of god. The wise man writeth in the booke of wis-
 dome in this soꝛt: Being boꝛne into this woꝛld (sayth he) I
 receiued the lyke ayꝛe that other men did, I was cast vpon
 the earth, hauing the same voyce & cry that others had, and
 I was nourished and bꝛought vp in the like paynes and so-
 rowes, and there was neuer king oꝛ pꝛince vpon the earth
 that had euer any other beginning in his natiuitie: we haue
 then one beginning & one ende. S. Iohn Chrysostome one of
 the most renoumed Doctoꝛs among the Grekes, (vpon ther-
 plication of these woꝛds (Our father which art in heauen) tra-
 uelling to pull vp by the rotes these smal sparkes of gloꝛy
 which reigne amongs these great loꝛds & pꝛinces by means
 of the gloꝛy that they haue in their noblenesse and birthe,
 exhꝛteth them in this maner: Hearken (sayth he) you am-
 bitious men, how the Loꝝd doth name him selfe our Father,
 not father in particular of this man oꝛ that mā, but willing
 to introduce one common charitie amongs all men, and to

*As well
 kings as their
 subiects are
 all subiect to
 vice and wic-
 kednesse, and
 all equall to
 death.
 Ozeas.*

Malachie, ca. 2.

*Wisdom ca. 7.
 Salomon ac-
 knowlegeth
 his infirmi-
 ties.*

*An exhor-
 ration of S. I.
 Iohn Chry-
 sostome to all
 proud and
 ambitious
 princes in
 his homily
 vpon the 28
 of Mathew.*

*Another
exhortation of
S. Augustine.*

*Loue of the
selues amongst
nobilitie is a
greate vice.*

*The common
people au-
thor and
builder of the
moste of the
greatest Ci-
ties vpon the
earth.*

Mathew ca 3

*Ageinst such
as doo glorie
in the noble-
nesse of their
aunceters.*

Iohn. ca. 9.

contourne vs all in a celestiall noblenesse, had no regarde herein either to riche or poore, maister or seruant, iudge or minister, king or man at armes, Philosopher or vnlearned, wise man or foole, but called him selfe father of vs all. And S. Augustine vpon the Sermon made of the Mountayne, confirming this authoritie (sayth) that we are admonished by this our comon prayer that beginneth (*Our father*) that we are all brethren, and that for any worldly or transitory dignitie, we ought not to contemne the common sorte of people. Socrates one of the moste wisest Philosophers that euer Grece did bring forth (sayth) that amongst other familiar vices that are in Nobilitie, they haue one in especiall, which dothe greatly blemish their noblenesse and dignitie, it is (sayth he) a certayne vayne opinion and loue that they haue of them selues, and of the glozy borrowed of their aunceters, with the which being blinded and forgetful of them selues, they despise and hate the common people, by whom the moste parte of the famous Cities vpon the earth were made and buylded, and by their labour and diligence maynteyned and conserued, and none but the Nobilitie only doth triumphe in the glozy thereof. And Iesus Chyriste the Saviour and Redemer of all men, dothe very well declare in S. Mathew, in what contempt he hathe those that do so muche vsurpe the glozy and fame of their aunceters, or suche as will seeme to chalenge to them selues the worthinesse and prayse of their forecelders. When the Iewes dyd glozy them selues to be the children of Abraham, he sayde vnto them: do not call your selues the children of Abraham, do you not know that I haue power to rayse vp children to Abraham of these stones: if ye be the children of Abraham do the works of Abraham. Afterwards he addeth to this, ye are of the Diuell your father, and you do the works of him. S. Paule the true dispenser of the doctrine of his master, in his Epistle to the Romanos, vpon the same matter (sayth) all those that be called *Israelites*, be not *Israelites*,

lives, nor all those that be of the sēde of Abraham be not Abrahams childzen: inferring by this saying, that all those that be descended of a noble blood, be not therefore noble, excepte they be the folowers of the vertues of them, of whom they take their Originall. Phalaris the firste Tyrant of the *Agrigentinas*, a wicked man, (and yet alwayes a great louer of learning) being on a tyme demaunded of one of his moste familiars, what his opinion was of the worthinesse of this noblenesse which is so common amongs men, answered: I see it is no straunge thing (sayd he) that all men do glory of their Nobilitie and birthe, but I say to you, there is no true Noblenesse but onely vertue, for all other things are given of Fortune: for (sayth he) the moste abiecte in all the worlde (being a vertuous man) is as noble as the moste puissaunt and mightie Monarche vpon the whole earth. Diogenes that *Ethnike* Philosopher, being bzged by his friends, to tell them saythfully who they were that he thought to be moste noble amongs men, answered and sayde: those that contemne richesse, eschue glory, refuse pleasure, despise this wooldly life: and those that to embrace pouertie, eschue shame, refuse no trauell and labour, and desire death, be moste noble. S. Chrysostome vppon the Homilie of S. Mathew, by many testimonies of the Scriptures proueth, that this which they call noblenesse, is none other thing but a vayne name receiued amongs men of antiquitie, and a sounde voyde of power, whose strength and puissance shall appeare to be of no value in the day of Iudgement. But forasmuche (sayth he) as the terme and ende of all things is not yet come, let all noble men in the meane whyle take this wholesome Medicine for a remedie and helpe, the better to kill and suppress this vayne glory and ambition, that dothe thus bere thei continually, that when God sendeth vs from heauen any furious warres, any execrable famine, or contagious pestilence, this noblenesse dothe vanishe away, for then we do indifferently fast

Day.

all

They that be descended of noble blood, if they do degenerate they do lose the title of noblenes which cannot be without vertue.

The testimonie of a tyrant that noblenesse is nothing els but vertue.

The answer of Diogenes whē he was demaunded who was most noble.

The opinion of Chrysostome what noblenesse is.

A medicine against ambition.

*Nobilitie in
the time of
sicknes and
other perse-
cutors do
saist indiffe-
rently therof
with the co-
mon sort.*

*The noble
and riche me
first afflicted
Alexander
not content
with the vi-
ctorie of one
world.*

Xerxes.

Hanniball.

Paul. Emili.

Iulius Cesar.

Pompeius.

*An excellent
discourse of
the vanity
and glory of
this world.*

*The true
heires of the
glory of men.*

*The death
of Hercules.*

all alike of these visitations, for the sicknesse both as some take the one as the other, the poore is not then knowen from the noble, for afflictions be common to all, according to the course of nature, and the rich, noble, and moſte welthieſt, be for the moſt part the firſt that be aſſaulted. And let them marke well and contemplate theſe things ſollowing, and they ſhal finde that all the glory of their auncesters is vaniſhed away as the ſmoke. For where is now that great Tyrant Alexander, whoſe ambition was ſo greate, that he thought the victorie of one world was not ſufficiēt for him? Where is that great king Xerxes, who ouerflowed the ſeas with ſo great a number of his ſhippes? Where is that inuincible Hanniball, who by arte did cut the mountayns, and by maruelous trauell made them paſſable? and where is Paulus Emilius, Iulius Caesar, Pompeius, and an infinite number of others, *Greekes & Romanes*? What remayneth now to them of their auncient fame & dignitie, but onely a common talke amongs men? notwithstanding their actes are reduced to hiſtozies, and left to their poſteritie, without the which the memozie of them ſhould haue remayned buried with their body, as thogh they had neuer ben. And I pray you what is become of theſe their precious bodies (ſo adozned & decked with purple, poſſeſſed with ſweete ſmelling Diademes, enriched with precious ſtones and golde worke, and ſuche other kynde of vanities) but euen bones and duſte, and wormes made the inheritozs of their glory, whoſe lyues and ſtates were ſo ſubiecte to mutabilitie, that when they thought themſelues paſt al dangers in god ſecuritie of them ſelues, ſettled in all quietneſſe and felicitie, euen then was the very houre and time that they dyd ariue into the coaſt of all myſchafe and accidents of fortune (as for example) Hercules, after he had paſſed ſo many daungers and perils of the Seas, was in the ende ſounde dead betwene the armes of hys louer Laomedon, and dyed not in the great warres of Troy, but was murthured in hys owne houſe.

And

And Alexander the great died not in conquering the whole worlde, but a lyttle popson made an ende of hys lyfe. The death of Alexander.
 The coragious Caius Cæsar dyd escape two and fiftie notable battels, and when he thought him selfe at moste reste and quietnesse, he was kylled in the Senate. The death of Caius Cæsar.
 Asclepius brother to Pompeius, perished not in sayling as a Pryate vpon the Seas the space of two and twentie yeres of Asclepius
 togithers, but was drowned drawing water out of a lyttle ponde. The death of Diuius.
 And Drulius in all the tyme that he was in banquishing the Parthians, was not slayne, but in receyving hys tryumphe for the same, sitting in a Charyote, a Wyle fell vppon hys head and kylled him. The tenne valyaunte Captaynes whiche Scipio ledde wyth hym into *Aphrica*, that were so happie and fortunat in al battelles, were not slayne in the warres, but after their returne (making their pastime vppon a brydge, and dauncing one with an other) were all drowned in the water.
 And with these few examples I coulde bring forth an infinite number of others. Oh unhappie and cursed chaunce, after so good fortune, oh ignominious fame after so muche glozy and renoume. I assure you, sayth that good Emperour Marcus Aurelius, that when I was an old man I dyd wishe in my heart my lyfe to haue bene lesse glorious, so that my deathe mighte bee moze honoured: for a wicked deathe causeth greatly the lyfe to bee suspected, and the happie ende and deathe bothe commonly excuse the wickednesse of the lyfe. Nowe we haue sufficiently manifested and proued by many reasons and arguments, and by sundrie Prophane Hystories, how that Kings and Princes are subiect to all infirmities of nature, and other accidents of fortune, as heate, colde, hunger, sickenesse, so dayne death, and suche like chaunces, as well as the moste vilest and simplest of any of their Subiects, and that also they are all vnder one G O D, one Lorde and Creator, (who will exalte the humble and mecke, and bring low the
 scarce

The death of the x. valiant captens of Scipio.

An unhappie end doth often times bringeth in doubt the good life.

The Lords dothe exalte the humble and ouerthrowe the proud.

*Saule ouer-
throwen for
pride.
Kings. ca. 5.*

*Ozias becae
a leper for
his pride.*

*The pride of
Olophernes
abated by a
woman.
Parali. 2. ca. 16*

*Amon han-
ged for his
pride.*

*Ecclesiastes ca.
10.*

scarce and pꝛoude) and besoze whom we shall appeare at the latter day to be countable for our lyues, to receiue equally the rewarde of our offences and deserts. It resteth now for vs (folowing the accustomed maner) to confirme the same by the examles of the holy and sacred Scripture, in the which we haue many maruellous testimonies, how the Lorde did ouerthrow the arrogancie and pꝛesumption of pꝛoude and haughty Pꝛinces. Saule who was by the election of God the firste king of the *Israhites*, for his greate pꝛide was ouerthrowen. Ozias was in the beginning of his reigne a good and vertuose man, and walked in the wayes and commaundements of the Lorde, but when he was in pꝛosperitie, and had al things that he could wish and desire, became sodenly so infected with pꝛide, and blinded with ambition, that he toke vpon him the office of the Highe Pꝛiest, but for a recompence of his offence he was caste into a Lepꝛosie, and taken away as well from the felowship of his people as the administration of his kingdome. Holofernes the pꝛoude, trusting to muche to the strength of his men at Armes and souldiers, would strue agaynst God, who (the wing by his mightinesse, that with the twinkeling of an eye, he coulde ouerthrow him) suffered Iudith to execute his vengeance, and to cut off his head. Amon that was so well beloued of king Assuerus, that he had the chiefe office of honour vnder him in his Realme, though his pꝛide and crueltie, going about by all the meanes he could to exterminate and destroy the people of *Israhell*, was by the permission of God in the ende hanged vpon the same gallowes that he had prepared for the innocent Mardocheus: such are the iudgements of God, that when he beholdeth out of his celestially Throne our humayne state, and seeth our great pꝛide and insolencie, he doth so chasten vs, and pul vs down to the ground, that he maketh vs to be contemned euen of the moste basest sorte. That wise king Salomon, being one of the richest Pꝛinces vpon the earth, knowing the hurte and

and damage that presumption and pride bringeth to them that are infected with all, bothe exhorthe vs to eschue it, and saythe: The Lord will pull downe pride Princes oute of their seates, and will set the humble in their places, which thing also his father king Dauid did alwayes acknowledge amongs other things (saying.) I haue seenne the wicked exalted and lifted vp as the Cedar of Libanus, but when I passed by againe, they appeared not, I searched for them, but I could not finde the place where they were. If the Kings and mightie Princes of the earth would marke wel this varietie of fortune, and how shew is applicable to mutation, who at an instant doth exalte and lift vp one euen vnto the heauens, and at a sodain pulleth downe an other from Scepter and crowne euen into a stinking and pestilent prison, they would not be moued to looke so high as they doe. Ecclesiasticus dothe witnesse vnto vs that the wise and poore infant is moze woorthie than the auncient and foolish king that knoweth not how to sofer things to come. Zedechias the King, and his sonne, being besieged in Ierusalem by Nabuchodonozar, were taken prisoner, the towne and the temple burned, and had his eyes pulled out of his hed, his sonne killed in his presence: And in the end him selfe died prisoner in Babylon. Nowe to the contrarie that holy Patriarke Ioseph being prisoner, looking for none other thing, (for a comforte to all his miseries) but a shamefull deathe, was at a sodaine made and ordained Prince and gouernoze of all Egypt. but to the ende our discourse shall be well beautified with Examples, we will set forth the befoze your eyes many Emperors, Kings, and Princes, that were unknowne bothe of linage, armes, force and beginning, that haue bene by the fauoure of fortune exalted to the rule of Realmes, Kingdomes and Empires. And for that, the Romaines amongs all other nations haue left vnto their posteritie mozte ample testimonie of their noblenesse and vertue, we will begin with Tarquinius Priscus, a man of a seruile estate (his father being a

R. 1.

poore

The description of the inconstancy of fortune.

Two examples contrary where one is exalted the other put downe.

Kings. 4 ca. 25.

Many of a base blood exalted to kingdoms and empires.

Seruus Tullius
king of the
Romans sonne
of a seruant
wherby he bea-
reth his name.
Antipater king
of Macedonia
the sonne of a
Iugler.
Cabyles king
of the Persians
was descended
of poore paren-
tage.
Darius the
sonne of a Car-
ter.
Midas of a la-
burer was
made king.
Softenes king
of Macedonia
of a base stock.
Sibaris king of
the Perleans
was seruant to
an Inne kepar.
Thelophanes
king of Lidia
was a Carter.
Tamberlen
the great em-
perour of our
time was sonne
of a Swyne-
herde.
Mahomet
king of Araby
was a dryer
of Camels.

poore marchante of *Cerulus* banished and exiled oute of his
Countrie, and his wyther a seruaunte, was elected king of
the *Romans*, did ordaine them newe lawes, greatly aug-
mented their puissance, and shewed him selfe so worthy a
man in his doings, that the people thought themselves very
happie they had chosen suche a personage, to be their king.
Seruus Tullius, king also of the *Romans*, who did triumph ty-
times for his good successe, obtained marvellous victories,
was the sonne of a poore seruaunt, in respecte wherof he did
alwayes beare the name of a seruaunt. Arlarces, king of the
Parthians, was of so base a condition and meane birth, that
his beginning was neuer knowne at any time to his poster-
itie, who being retired from the subication of Alexander,
was the first that began any kingdom amongst the *Parthi-
ans*, (a people much feared of the *Romans*) who for a per-
petuall testimonie of their king, would nedes be called *Ar-
larcidas*. Antipater that succeeded in the realme of *Macedo-
nia* after Alexander, was the sonne of a Iugler, as Seneca
dothe witnesse vnto vs. Cambiles that great king of the *Per-
sians*, was descended of a poore parentage. And Darius the first
king of the *Persians*, was the sonne of a Carter. Midas la-
boring and tilling the earth, was by the *Greekes* called from
his husbandrie, and made king. Softenes was made king of
Macedonia, although he was descended out of the most ba-
sest house of his prouince (and notwithstanding many great
Princes did couet the dominion therof) yet neuerthelesse he
was preferred before al others for his vertues. Sibaris, that
was seruaunt to an Inne keeper, had in marriage the sister
of Cyrus, and was made king of the *Persians*. Thelophanes
a Carter, was chosen king of *Lydia*. Tamberlen that great
king of the *Scythians*, in our time (who named himselfe the
scourge and wyathe of God, by whome he would erecute
his vengeance) was the sonne of a swineheard.

Mahomet that firste did diue Camels for his lining, be-
came in the ende king of *Arabie*. All which things and o-
thers

thers being wel weighed and considered by that diuine Pla-
to, sayd: there were selue things of Princes, but that they
were first descended of bond men, not selue bonde men that
were not first descended of Princes: Saule and Dauid the
first kings of the *Jewes* were shepherds. Abdolin that was a
digger of gardens, was by Alexander instituted king of *Sy-*
donie for his worthinesse, and so to all others, who he did
cause to aspire to any dignitie, he said he neuer had regarde
to their birth, or of what race they were extracte, but only
to their vertues. Agathocles king of *Cyprus*, was the sonne
of a Potter, who for a remembrance of his beginning, wold
at his life time be serued in none other vessels, but of earth.
But amongst all other Empires of the world, the *Romaine*
Empire was the most passing, and yet we finde many Em-
perors, as well *Romaines* as others, that were descended of
a base parentage, who by balliantnesse obtained the Empe-
rial dignitie, as Maximianus the sonne of a Locke Smith.
Martius also the Emperour was a Smith himselfe, who af-
ter as he was chosen Emperour, spake before the people,
as foloweth. I know right wel my friends (sayd he) that you
may reprobend me and caste me in the teethe with my olde
occupation whereof you are all witnesses, but lette all men
say what they like: By my will I woulde alwayes be
handling Iron, and not leade my life idelly in banquetting
and dallying with women, and in suche other voluptuous-
nesse and pleasures, (as Gallus my predecessour did) who
was unworthie the glory and fame of his predecessours: and
let them say further of my Fathers craft what they will,
so that strangers as the *Germaynes*, *Almaynes*, and other
nations my neighbors may perceiue and taste, that I loue
iron, and that they haue to do with an Iron nation, so much
to their daunger, that they do feare in vs chafely the Iron,
I am content they say their pleasures. And as for youre
partes, I wil wel you know that ye haue chosen an Empe-
rour to gouerne you, that will neuer handle any other thing

R.ij.

but

Saule and Da-
uid were shep-
herds.

Abdolin king
of Sydonie
was a gardner.

Agathocles the
sonne of a pot-
ter.

Maximianus
emperour king
was the sonne
of a Locke
Smith.
Martius empe-
rour was a
Smith him-
selfe.

An oration of
Martius in the
commendacio
of yron.

Galerius Empe-
roure, was a
necatheard.
Elius Pertinax,
Emperor, was
a marchant
of Wode.
Aureli^o Victor
doth witnesse
the same, and
Iulius Capito-
linus, eutropi^o.
Dioclesianus
Emperour, was
the sonne of a
Boke binder.
Bonosus Empe-
ror, sonne of a
Scholemaster.
Aurelianus em-
peror of an vn-
knowe stock.
Valentianus
emperor sonne
of a shoemaker.
And many o-
thers of an vn-
knowe blood.
Popes issued
out of obscure
houses.
Pope Iohn, 22,
the sonne of a
shoemaker.
Sextus the iiii,
sonne of a ma-
riner.
Pope Nicho-
las the iiii, son
of a Poulter.

but from all the dayes of his life to your great commodities
and comfortes. Galerius also surnamed *Peatherde* (because
both he and his parentes were alwayes rurall men) was
likewise chosen Emperour. Elius Pertinax in like manner
Emperour of Rome, was a Marchant of Wode, which estate
he exercised with such trouble and paine, that he was in
that respect Pertinax. And Dioclesianus the Emperour, who
did make Rome to wonder at his triumphal victories was but
a seruant, and the sonne of a Boke binder. Bonosus like-
wise Emperour was the sonne of a Scholemaster. Aurelia-
nus (whose renoune is immortall) was borne of so base a
stocke, that in the Histories can not be founde the place of
his birth. And Valentianus was the sonne of a Shoemaker.
And thus with these numbres that I haue brought forth, I
coule alleage many others: as Augustus, Vitellus, Traia-
nus, Opilus, Machroneus, Posthumius, Carausius, Iustinius,
Balbinus, and a great number more, of which Suetonius and
other Authours make mention that were sprung out but of
base, unknowne, and obscure houses. We coule also bring
forth many Bishops of Rome, who being issued out of poore
parentages, and of small reputation, came to the like digni-
tie. As Bishop Iohn the 22, was the sonne of a Shoemaker,
borne in France. Bishop Sextus the fourth, was a graie
Friar, and the sonne of a mariner. Bishop Nicholas the fifth
was the sonne of a Poulter. S. Peter was a Fisher, and of
many others of whom we will make no mention at this
present, for such dignities are not gotten by noblenesse of
birth, but by vertue and holinesse of life. We haue by other
Examples going before, very amply declared, that they
were very wicked and miserable persons, that would suffer
themselves to be caried away by inordinate ambition (that
vanisheth away as smoke) seeing Fortune dothe imparte
his fauours to whom she pleaseth, raising sometimes by the
poore, vnto the rule and government of realmes and king-
domes. And now the better to performe our sayings, it is
expedient

expedient for vs to declare how she dothe also abase and put
do wne, when it pleaseth hir, those that be sette in the moſte
highe degree of all felicitie, and make them to become ſo mi-
ſerable, that often times they giue occaſion of pittie, euen to
their very enemies. The riche Creſſus king of *Lidia*, hath
good proſe thereof, who euen when he thoughte he had bene
the moſte happieſt Prince vppon the earthe, ſawe by liuely
experience, that all the riches and giſtes which he had of for-
tune, was not ſuffitient, nor coulde not deliuer him from the
furie of Cyrus, who being vanquiſhed and ouercome by him,
did ſeele and taſte as well the burning flames of his ire, as he
did of the fire wherin he was burned. Darius that great king
of *Perſians*, vanquiſhed by Alexander, bounde by his owne
houſhold ſeruants, bereft of his wife and childzen, baniſhed
his realme, and hurte in many places of his body, perceyued
very well that there was not ſo highe a degree of honoꝝ, but
that it might be ſometime ouerthrowne, and bette do wne to
the ground. Perſeus king of *Macedonia*, feeling the moſt fu-
rious ſtripes of fortune, coulde wel iudge how vncertaine and
caducall the hope of woꝝloly dignities was, when that Pau-
lus Emilius, a captaine of *Rome* did triumph ouer his goddes,
and cauſed him to die in a moſt vile and dolorous priſon, and
his ſonne the very inheritor of his kingdome, by euil intrea-
tie brought to ſuche pouertie, that he was forced to gette his
liuing by the exerciſe of handie craft. Denis Syracuſanus like-
wiſe baniſhed out of his realme, ſhall be a faithfull witneſſe
of the inſtancie of fortune, who being preſſed with an ex-
treme pouertie, was in the ende conſtrained to teache chil-
dzen for his liuing, at *Syracuse*. (a piteous metamorphoſis of
a Prince ſo rich, to become a maſter of childzen. Polycarpus,
king of the *Samyens*, who as Valerianus dothe witneſſe, that
had neuer in all his life taſted of the rigoure of fortune was
at the laſt vanquiſhed by Darius, king of the *Perſians*, and af-
ter by his owne prouoſt crucified vppon the top of a moun-
taine. Valerianus, emperoure of the *Romaines*, being ouer-

*Creſſus king
of Lidia
burnt.*

*Darius king
of the Perſi-
ans was van-
quiſhed and
hurt.*

*Perſeus king
of Macedo-
nia died in
priſon.*

*Denis Syra-
cuſan bani-
ſhed out of
his realme,
and drinen
by pouerty to
teache chil-
dren.*

*The king Po-
licarpus was
crucified by
his owne ſer-
uants.*

Valerianus

*emperor overthrowne
by Saport
and made his
footstool.*

*Caligula emperor
died hauing xxx.
wounds.*

*Dioclesian emperor
poisoned.*

*Domitianus
emperor dyed
being banished
out of Rome.*

*Falaris dyed
vpon the Tor-
tures.*

*Silla was eaten
with lice.*

*Tiberius emperor
stified
with a pillow.*

*Serche their
deaths in Plin-
ie, Sueton and
P. archus.*

*Nero did re-
quire the helpe
of his frends to
kill him.*

*A kingdom
geue was re-
fused.*

thowne by Saport king of the *Persians*, ended the rest of his life in such seruitude, that he serued for a footstool to Saport, when he mounted on horse backe, and bowed his shoulders thereunto, in steede of a footstool. Caligula likewise, after he had receiued xxx. wounds of Cornelius Sabinus and his confederates, lost most miserably in the ende his life. Dioclesian hauing lost his Empire, died of poyson that was prepared for him. Domitian Emperor being banished out of Rome died poore and miserable. Falaris king of *Lucyla*, died wretchedly vpon the tortures, where he had caused other to die. Marius being fallne into a marvellous desperatiō, presented his head to Pontius Tolestinus, to the ende he shoulde cut it off. Scilla his chiefe enimie was eaten with lice, & could neuer finde meanes to helpe him selfe thereof. The Emperor Tiberius was stifled with a pillowe, and died amongs his owne seruants. Nero that butcher and mortall enimie to humane nature, hiding himselfe in a ditch to eschue the iust ire and vengeance of the *Romains* that did pursue him, would haue killed him selfe, but God did permit he shoulde finde him selfe so vnable that his strength did faile him to execute his sacrifice, and was constrained therfore to require aide of others to aduance his deathe. And thus with these smal numbze, I could produce many other Princes, Kings, Emperors, Monarches, and other great Lords, who hauing had as it were the winde in the poore, and vsing with full saile the flatterings of fortune, that after wardes turning her wheele vpon them, sel into such miserie and wretchednesse, that the memoire thereof is pitifull to rehearse. For this cause Ephyston, (that was so well beloued of Alexander) willing vpon a time (of his great liberalitie) to haue giuen to certaine of his frendes, the kingdome of *Sydon*, they knowing it was an easie matter to receiue a kingdome, but hard to rule the same, did with a marvellous constancie of minde refuse it. Wherat Ephyston being greatly astonished, to see them refuse willingly that which others did take

take her by fire and sword, was moued to say: Oh most
happie nation which arte the firste that hath learned that
it is no lesse commendable to refuse a kingdome, than to
receyue it. For if the ambitious man will measure with a
iuste yarde, and weighe with even Ballances, the plea-
sures and honoures, with the cares and troubles of the
minde, that dothe accompanie a Crowne, and an infinite
numbre of perilles besides, as well domestically as foraine,
he shoulde finde for one ounce of Honey, tenne pounce of
Wormeworde: wherefore the greates king Antiochus, is
greatly commended in the Histories amongst the Romans,
for when they had taken away from him the better parte
of his Realme, he sayde vnto them with an inuincible con-
fiance: *O ye Romans*, in leauing me so small a parte of
my Realme, and vsurping the moste greates parte thereof
(as you doe) you cause me to occupie my minde on other
matters: and you doe so muche the more disburthen me of
the cares which did ordinarily enuiron my soule, and held it
besieged. *Valerius Maximus* in his histories dothe rehearse
that the firste time the Crowne was presented to the same
king Antiochus, before he wold put it vpon his head, he did
for a good space fall into contemplation, afterwardes he cri-
ed oute with a loude voice, and saide: O Diademe more
happie than noble: If the moste parte of the Princes of the
earthe woulde consider diligently the miseries and cares
that doe accompanie them, they woulde not be greatly wil-
ling to couet them, but woulde rather disdaine to lift them
from the earthe. We haue as it were the like Exemple in
the Histories of a Tyrannous king, who being on a time
more penurious and sadde than he was accustomed, one of his
Courtiers woulde gladly haue made him merrie, and saide
vnto him: Wherefore arte thou so sorie and penurious O king,
and wilt thy Realme prosper and flourish in all things?
But this Tyrante feeling the anguise of his sinnes in his
heart, answered nothing to him.

*Quintus
Curtius booke*

4.

*Many pe-
rils do accom-
pany a
Crowne.*

*A commen-
dable sentence
of Antiochus*

But

*A flatterer
punished.*

But afterwards caused a feast to be prepared of all sortes of delicate and delitious meates, with such ornaments as were requisite for the celebrazion of such a great feast. This done, he caused a naked sword to be haged and tied with a thred, ouer the place where he should sit, and called for this Courtier, and commaunded him very straightly, to sit him self in that place, which was prepared for him. This miserable mā being thus set, had no will either to eate or drinke, but was alwayes afraid of death, and that the sword should fall and kil him. This tirant deliting to see him put in such feare, said vnto him: Behold loe þ very true purtrait of my royal dignitie: behold the prosperities and plesures that my estate is subiect vnto: behold also the iuste occasion of my continuall heauinesse and sorowe. In all which examples befoze reberse, we say for a full resolution, that althoughe all things be subiect to mutation after the common law, and course of nature, yet there is not one thing moze mutable and subiect to change, thā Princes and kings are, bicause that fortune doth most willingly take hold of such as be of an high estate, and touch, to triumph ouer their spoiles. Wherefoze those that be called to such honoz and dignitie, ought so to direct their actes and doings, that they may be alwayes found readie, when the Lord and God shall call for them.

The ninthe Chapter.

How that clemencie and gentelnesse, are vertues moste meete and conuenable for Kings and Princes, with many examples alleaged, confirming the same.

*How great
is clemency
and gentle-
nesse is com-
mended in
princes.*



For the better garnishing the Prince with suche things as are moste meetest for his Maiestie and dignitie, we desire (as is said in the Chapter befoze) he should be indued with modestie and temperacie to serue him as meanes to season all his actions and doings. Least that being at any time

ouer.

ouercome with the extremitie of choler, he shoulde be ouer
 rashe and quicke in his iudgements, in the execution wher-
 of it is to be wished he should rather be more prompt to re-
 mit the cryme, than without discretion (befoze the matter
 be well considered and wayed) to punish the offender: for
 commonly sodayne determinations do bying with them
 suche voyling and sorrowfull repentance, that it maketh vs
 to desire that same death to our selues that we oftentimes
 procure to others. As we reade of Alexander the great, be-
 ing on a time in a maruelous furie caused Cletus one of his
 beste beloued to be slayne, the death of whom did heape such
 greefe and anguish in his heart, that (after reason had ouer-
 come his furie) he would haue murdered him selfe with
 his owne hands for a satisfaction of his offence. But for as
 muche as we will referre these matters to the Chapter,
 tohere shall be intreated how muche crueltie is enemie to
 Princes, we will cease to procede any further therein, and
 intreate of clemencie, gentlenesse, and mildenesse, which
 are requisite for Princes, and be things of so maruellous
 an efficacie to winne the harts of their subiects, that there
 is nothing that doth more prouoke the people to loue them
 and honour them than meekenesse and gentlenesse, nor by
 which meanes they may more frankly make requeste to
 them of any thing without repulse or deniall to be made
 therein. Cicero in his Academicall questions doth persuaue
 all Princes rather to communicate with the poore than the
 riche: for (sayth he) they can not learne any thing of the
 riche, but to be couetous, to augment their estates and dig-
 nities, and to maynteyne them selues in all pleasure and
 delicatenesse: but with the poore (sayth he) they shal learne
 to be pityfull and mercysfull. For pouertie is none other
 thing but a behole of clemencie and pittie. The Emperour
 Traianus is greatly commended among the Hystorians, be-
 cause vppon a time he layed his whols armie, and him selfe
 byd descende off his hoyle to vnderstande the complaynts

Alexander
 would haue
 killed him
 selfe for com-
 mitting an
 offence rash-
 ly.

Princes in
 the olde time
 were wont to
 be familiar
 with the
 poore.

The Parthians would haue their princes familiar aswell to the poore as the riche. The custome of the Persians reprobeth

A marvellous gentlenesse of the emperor Antonius towards the poore.

of a poore wretched and miserable woman. The Parthians (a people very curious in observing the customs of antiquitie) did so much desire this gentlenesse and mekenesse to be in their Princes (as Homer writeth) that they dyd upon a time depriue one of their Princes from the administration of the Realme, because that he went to the mariage of a noble man & a great Ruler, and within certayne dayes after, being required to the mariage of a poore man, he refused to do the like. The maner of liuing of the kings of the Persians is reproved & condemned of many, for that they vse to keepe them selues close and secreete within their Pallaces, not shewing them selues to the people but once or twice in the yere, and all to the ende that not yelding them selues to talk, or to bee familiar with the people, they should haue the in the moze greater admiration and honour. The Emperour Antonius was called Pius because he was pitiful and gracious to all sortes of people, and namely for that he did vse a marvellous charitie in the behalfe of widows and Orphanes, for he commaunded the porter of his gates (and that with great charge) that he should know the poore before the riche, that they mighte bee firste brought to him to haue audience of their lutes. And this good Emperour pronounced openly before all people, that they that do contemne the poore and needy, let them not thinke to be obeyed of the riche. The Historians write in the life of Claudianus the Emperour, that he was so treatable and gentle, and did so much incline him selfe towards the lutes of the poore, that he thought it did not suffice him onely to giue them audience, and to restore them agayne to their right (if they were iniured by any man,) but farther he would giue them also counsell in their aduersities and troubles: which thing he dyd practise in the behalfe of a poore afflicted widow, who as she did upon a time present hir self before him to require iustice, being altogether overcome with carefulnesse and weeping, this gentle Emperour after he had accorded hir request,

request, being moued with a maruellous naturall compassion, did wipe his face with his owne handkercher, whereas many of his gentlemen did maruell, amongs which one of them sayd to him, that he did too much abase him selfe, and he had done a thing that was far vnmete for the maiestie of an Emperour. But he answered wisely, that it was not sufficient for a Prince onely to doe right and iustice to his Subiects, but also to exercise the office of humanitie towards them when the cause so requireth, for oftentimes (sayd he) the Subiects, when they departe from the Prince with his good countenance and gentle words, it contenteth their minds better than the benefite of the cause that they haue receiued at his hands by equitie and Iustice. And this is it that that great king Salomon dothe teache and exhorte vs vnto, where he sayth, that gentle and pleasaunt words doth allwage the yre, as rygorous and cruell words doe stirre vp furie: and as he sayth in another place, that gentle speeche getteth many friends, and appeaseth the enimie. The tenne Tribes of *Israell* made them selues strangers, and refused the subiection of Roboam the son of Salomon, that was their king, for the rigorous answer he made to them (at such time as they required him that the tribute should be diminished) when he sayde to them: the least of my fingers is moze heauy than the greatest of my fathers: if he haue made your yoke heauy to you, I will make it heauier, and if he scourged you with small roddes, I will chasten you with whippes. And for suche a like barbarous and rough speeche chaunced the diuision betwene *Juda* & *Israell*, when David made his force agaynst them, for that Naball throught his choylish aunswere stirred him to anger: but to the contrary Abygail his wyfe by meanes of hir curteous and gentle words did appease him. We finde also in the *Greeke Histories*, that a Philosopher very liberall & free in words, wrote an Epistle to Phalaris the Tyrante, in the which he accused him of his dissolute life, and amongs other things

Proverb ca. 15.

Ecclesiast 6.

3 Kings. ca. 12

1 Kings. ca. 25

D. y.

th it

that he misse touched, he reprobued him bitterly for that he was disobedient to the Gods, in that he killed the priests, and ruinated the temples, and because he was so unwilling to be moued or sued vnto for the poore mens causes, and byd refuse their petitions and requests. The good Tyrant hauing red this accusation, without any farther deliberation made this answer as it foloweth: They that say that I do not obey the Gods, say truely, for if I should obserue all those things that the Gods doe commaunde me to doe, I should doe few of those things that man requireth me to doe. Secondly where you say I beare no reuerence nor honoꝝ to the Churches, that is because I know the gods make more account of a good and pure heart, than of many Churches al to bedecked with gold & siluer. As touching the Priests, you say I put them to death: in vnde I haue done it, thinking to make a good sacrifice of them to the Gods, for they were so dissolute, and so farre out of order in all their actions and doings, that in steade of honoꝝing the Gods they were rather a slander vnto them. And as touching the laste, whereof thou doest accuse me, that is, to haue stopped my mouth and eares from the petitions & requests of the poore, those that haue sayde that vnto thee haue greatly lyed vppon me, for I haue alwayes shewed my selfe frank and open to widowes and Orphanes, and to suche kinde of afflicted people, and haue alwayes had my eares open to suche requests as they haue made to me. Here you may see this wretched Tyrant, enimie both to God and man, loued better to be charged with these other vices, than to graunt to the last, the which he esteemed to be more grievous and notable than the others. The Lorde our God willing to instruct all Princes and other pastours, by what meanes they ought to gouerne their flocke, dothe reprove (by the Prophet Ezechiell) the ouermuche straytnesse that they doe vse towards their Subiects, when he sayde vnto them: He doe commaunde them by force and power. Like-
wise

wise S. Peter, a man that commendeth greatly humilitie, 1. Peter ca 5.
 both admonish all Pallours, not to be over severe towards
 their people; but that they should rule them as the true
 shepheards doth his flocke. Alexander the great used suche
 kinde of facilitie and gentlenesse of speeche to those that
 had to doe with him, that even to suche as had reproved him
 of his vices, he would hearken and give eare: for when he
 departed out of Asia, to conquer the Indians, he under-
 stood that there was one other Nation which was neuer
 yet conquered, neither of the Persians, the Medes, the
 Grekes, nor of the Romans, who were called the Garaman-
 tians, and he being very ambitious of suche matters, min-
 ded to visite them in his journey, and when he arrived in
 their Province, he commaunded that the wyldest and sagest
 amongs them should come and speake with him, that he
 might understande the maners, customes, and order of li-
 ving of those people, who seemed unto him to be men farre
 estranged from the fashions and doings of the common
 blage of other men: whereof when the Garamantians were
 advertised, without any moze deliberation sent unto hym
 presently an olde man, free and franke in words, and stout
 in his countenance, and one that had neuer ben feared for
 the presence of any Prince, Emperour or Monarche: who
 being arrived afore him, after that he had made his due
 reverence, began to beholde him with a Philosophers eye,
 and knowing very well Alexanders humors, that he was *Ama-
 not* come into their countrey for any other intente, but to *lous stoumes*
 make him selfe Lord and Prince thereof, firing his coun- *of a Philo-*
 tenance immovable vpon his face lyke a man that had *pher of the*
 ben halfe in an extasse, sayde to him: Tell me I pray thee *Garamantis.*
 O thou Alexander, what wouldst thou have? what is thy
 meaning? what is thy will and purpose? doest not thou
 sufficiently give knowledge to the face of the whole world,
 that thou arte possessed with an insatiats greedynesse and
 an inordinate couetousnesse, which for a transitory ambi-

*A marvel-
lo is grieve of
conscience at
the pointe of
death to such
as haue set
their minds
vpon their
goods in
their life
time.*

tion that vanisbeth away as the smoke) arte not afeards to pouerishe many to make thy selfe onely riche, no2 arte not ashamed of the complayntes and lamentations of the poore widows, and of an infinite nuber of wretched & myserable people, which thou hast dispossessed of their lands to make thy selfe vniuersall Monarche of the whole earth, no2 hast thou no regard of the effusion of the blood of so many poore Innocents, but thus with insamy to make thy name euerallasting and immortalize thy selfe for euer: yet if thou couldest by thy cruel battels & bloudie victozies enioy the lyues of them which thou doest kill, to increafe & p2olong thyne owne lyfe, as thou doest inherite their goods to augment thy renowne (although it were wicked) yet it were tollerable. But to what purpose serueth it thee to take away their liues, when thou thy selfe lookest euery houre that the Gods shall take thyne? Oh Alexander, yet if thy desire had any ende, and that it were bozdered and limited as the kingdomes bee which thou doest conquer, thou wouldest then giue some hope to the people of thy amende to come: but know thou, oh Alexander, to what ende this will come vnto, the Gods shall giue for a penance vnto thee, and to all suche ambitious hearts as thine is, which are neuer satisfied no2 contented, that as soone as death is ready to close vp your mouths, and when you are at the last poynt of life, you shall haue so great an vquietnesse of conscience for those things which you haue so vniustly heaped & gathered togithers, that it shall be moze greuous and harder for you to digest than if ye should suffer a thousand deaths togithers. And so this old man hauing ended al his discourse, stode still immouable for a space befoze Alexander, aspecting seme answer of him: but Alexander feeling him selfe touched inwardly, was tossed with many imaginations at the reasons of that wise & sage philosopher, and in such sort that his spirits were overcome and vanquished, not able to vtter the effect of his minde to make him any answer, by reason

reason whereof, being confounded and condemned in him
 selfe for his enterprises, he returned from thence immedi-
 ately without hurting, or any wayes annoying the *Garrama-
 nis*. The Emperour Tiberius a cruell man in all his do-
 ings, was not moued when it was told him that many did
 murmur and speake euill of his cruelties and tyrannies:
 but answered to them that perswaded him to bee reuenged
 vpon those that so murmured agaynst him, that he coulde
 very well occupie him selfe otherwise, and saide, that mens
 tongues ought to be free in a free Citie. Moyses that great
 law giuer of the Lozde, hath lefte vs also maruellous testi-
 monies of patience & modestie: who although he was ma-
 ny times tormented & bered with his people, yea euen that
 they were ready to stone him to death, yet whatsooner as-
 saults these sturdy people did make agaynst him, they coulde
 neuer driue him from his humilitie, nor put him out of pa-
 cience: but to the contrary, he dyd by his continuall pray-
 ers (which he made to the Lozde) appease the mallice and
 furie which they had vniustly conceyued agaynst him. The
Histories doe wyte, that two olde women dyd aduersite
 them selues to a king and an Emperour, the one to king
 Demetrius, the other to the Emperour Adrianus, praying the
 instatly that they might haue iustice ministred for a certain
 violence which one had don to them. But these Princes be-
 ing occupied with other affayres did aunswere them, that
 they must for a time deferre the matter, for that they could
 not intende it at that present, whereat the women being
 grieved, sayd vnto the, that then they ought to giue vp their
 Empires to others: for princes muste (sayde they) be at all
 times of the day ready to protect & defende the afflicted, and
 euer willing to render iustice and righte to eche one, and
 with that charge yet doe receiue your dignities and king-
 domes. And yet notwithstanding al these wordes, neither of
 these Princes were moued or angrie, and they perceyuing
 the earnestnesse of these matrons, began to smile, and pre-
 sently

Numb. 12.

A king and
 an emperour
 gaue audience
 to two poore
 women.

Gene 25.

sently gaue them audience, and did them iustice. And Ioseph that great Patriarke, being so cruelly handled at his brothers hands, in steede of reuenging him selfe, he deliuered them from famine, which did oppresse them so much, that they knew not where to haue any succour or helpe. Denis the Tyrant king of Sicily by force, who hath borne a gret name of crueltie amongs others, and a man hated almoste of all persons, used neuer the lesse curtesie towards an old woman, such as solometh: As he was vpon a time advertised that she prayed vnto the Gods dayly for his long lyfe and health, where to the contrary he knew that all the rest of the people wished his death and overthrow, (as the verry possilence of their common wealth) did commaunde him to be called before him, and he dyd earnestly require him to tell him for what cause she prayed so often to the Gods for his lyfe, seeing that he knew very well that all the rest of the people desired his death. This olde woman who knew not how to counterfeyte, did discover vnto him, her meaning therein, and sayde: O my soueraigne Lord, when I was a yong woman this Countrey was gouerned with a cruell Tyrant, whose life was so noysome to me, that I did continually wish his death, and to the ende my desire might take place, I prayed hartely to the Gods in the Temple, that they would deliuer the people from the bondage of that Tyrant, and that they would sende him a sodayns death, which they did, for he dyed in very deepe sodaynly: but the time was so vnhappy, that there succeeded in his place a worse, and a man more dissolute a thousande times than the first, which is the cause that moueth me to see from my first prayer, least the Gods should do as they did before, which they will do, and now thou arte come, who is worse than both the others: and for that I feare, that if I make my request to the Gods for thy death, as I did for the others, there shal come an other after more wicked and abhominable than thou arte: therefore I go dayly to

A greafe
assistance of
a woman in
place of per-
rill.

to the temple, and praye to the Gods, that they will maynteyne and conserue thee with long lyfe as thou art. Then this tyrant maruelling at the franke and liberall speeche of this woman, and specially to him who was feared of al men (as he was) without being angry at all, set to laughing, and let her depart without any kynde of punishment.

An incredible patience of a Tyrant.

The patience of Pirthus king of the Epyrotes, is greatly comended in the histories: who (when he was in his warres against the Romans in Italy) had certain of his souldiers in his campe, that as they did sit at their meate, with open mouth spake vncomely & vndercett words of him, vsing therein words of defamation, wherof he being aduertised by certayn spyes who did apprehend them vpon the matter, he commaunded they should immediatly be brought before him, and he asked of them if it were true they wer so outragious of their language, that they durst blaspheme the maiestie of a Prince: Which thing one of them that was more stout and carelesse than the other, did confesse vnto him to be true, and did acknowledge they wer greatly forgetfull of themselves in this cause: adding therevnto further, that if the wine had not failed them at the table, that they were in good waye to haue passed further into more vnseemely words, putting wholly the fault in the wine, which was the very instrument that did force them to speake such things. The reherfal of which matter didde cause their colour to come and goe, even as it dothe when any man feeleth the Surgeon put an instrument into his sore wounde, and as though they shoulde haue loste their lyues presently. Wherat the king made no semblance that he was moued or angry any thing at all, but sayde to them with a cheerfull countenance: My frendes, at another tyme when you speake of your superiours, speake more softly, for such communication (sayde he) euen the very walles will vnderstande.

Wyne is the aucler of mischief.

The modestie of Pirthus king of the Epirots being abused by his owne Souldiers.

Plato the chief of al the Philosophers amongst the Grekes, when he toke his leaue of Dionyle the tyrant to returne to

E.g.

Athens,

Athen, Dionysius demanded what report he would make of him to the other Philosophers his companions, when he came to *Athen*. Who unto Plato answered with a boldnesse conformable to his wisdom, that the Philosophers of *Athen* had not so much leysure as that they would lose any tyme to speake of him or his doings, giuing him to vnderstand by this franke answer, that his life was so out of order as the Philosophers (who did occupie them selues commonly in graue and weightie matters) would not vouchsafe to consume their tyme to make any reherfall of the acts of a wicked man, and sayd they rather merited to be buried in the perpetual darknesse of forgetfulnesse, than to be brought in reherfall before men. Whiche answer although it were very sharpe and ruffling, and scantely to be borne, euen by a man very patient, yet notwithstanding he dissimuled the matter, and did not once make any shewe by countenance that he was any thing angry or moued thereat.

Thus we haue brought forth a great numbre of auncient examples of mekenesse and gentlenesse, whiche to some peraduenture at the first shewe will seeme ridiculous, and to be but fables; but because they be written by so many notable and famous authours bothe *Greeks* and *Latines*, we ought to giue them credite, and we shoulde do them greates iniurye and also greatly diseredyte our auncienters, who haue alwayes to this presente daye, had them in great estimation and reuerence, now to bring their greates wisdom and granitie in question.

Examples of
gentlenes and
clemencye
whiche haue
passed in this
our tyme.

And now we will shewe you some example of the same matter which hath passed in these our dayes, to the end that suche princes and greates lordes (as stande so muche vpon their honours, may when they fele themselves touched as it were vpon the finger, frame themselves somewhat to bear with the follie and boldnesse of their subiects.

The *Italians* write in their histories and Annalles, that vpon a time when the Pope wente out of the castell Angel,

in Rome in his accustomed magnificence, an olde manne a stranger and unknown, newly come to the citie (and not having seen any such things before) began to laughe aloud, that the Pope and all the Cardinales heard him, who marveling at the matter, demanded of him by and by the cause of his disordinate laughing. This olde man that was so aged that there was nothing left unto him of all his members to stand him in any steede (but onely his tunc) answered redely with a high voyce never staying thereat: the occasion of my laughing (said he) is, why Saint Peter was so poorly being in this world, and so simply apparelled, and left his successors so rich and pompos. Which answer when all they that stood by heard, there was not one that was offended any thing thereat, but began all to laugh at the matter, as he himselfe did. Pope Sixtus the iiij. who was a religious man of the order of S. Francis, was elevated to the dignitie Papal: A while after, a frier of his own couent, that had ben one of his most familiar friends, came to Rome to visite him, the Pope having receyved him very courteously (to shew him his great secrets) led him into his treasure where he had great plenty of precious stones, riches and other treasures, where he sayd unto him smiling, Brother you see I can not say that whiche S. Peter my predecessor sayde, that I have neither gold nor silver: I do confesse that sayde the frier, holy Father, neither can you say as he sayd to the impotent, lame, and leproous, rise and go your wayes, giving him secretly to understande thereby, that riches be enemies to holynesse: And the Pope knowing that he spake nothing but that which was true, was not displeased thereat, but of himselfe did afterwards tell the same to a greates number of Bishoppes and Cardinals that were not then present. Raphael one of the most excellentest paynters that ever lived, was byppon a tyme invited to dinner to a Cardinall in Rome, where at the Pope and many other Prelates were present. This Cardinall when dinace was done, shewed to them

*A greates
mocke of an
old man.*

*A secret
nippe by a
gray Fryar
to pope Six-
tus the iiij.
Riches enemy
to holynesse.*

Two cardinals taunted by Raphael the excellent painter.

The modesty of an erle of Italy being taunted by one that was whipped

How princes ought to vse the vertue of modestie.

that were present (as a maruelous thing) a table of the sayd Raphaels making, in the which was painted the figure and postrature of S. Peter and Paul, to the ende that they might iudge of the excellency therof, and after they had well beheld the same in all partes, it was commended of them all as an excellent and maruellous thing (except of two Cardinales) who said that the table was very excellent, but that they had their faces made somewhat too redde and too much coloured. Raphael being a free man of speche, saw that his workmanship was condemned, and that by such as had no knowledge to iudge therof, sayd vnto them openly: My lordes, be not abashed though they be a little too red, and too much coloured in the face, for I did it of purpose to declare vnto you, that in heauen they be as red as you see them here in this table, euen for shame that they haue to see the church governed by so wicked and euill pastors as ye be: with the which answer they were nothing offended.

An Erle, a great lord in Italy, did heare very gently the lyke answer of a poore offender, that was condemned to be scourged, who moued with pitie to see him whipped thorow the towne, seeing him go very softly sayd to him: why goest thou no faster, that thou mayst be the sooner deliuered from thy payne? But this miserable fellowe being vnworthy the counsell of so noble a man, sayde to him: Counte, when thou shalt be whipped or led to any kinde of punishment as I am, go thou at thy owne pleasure, and seeing that I suffer the payne, suffer me to go as it pleaseth me.

We haue brought forth so many examples for mekenesse and gentlenesse, that we feare it dothe offende the eares of the readers: it remaineth for vs now therfore somewhat to instructe Princes howe they oughte to temper thys their clemencie, least by vsing ouermuche familiaritie, they fall into an other euill, which will be as pernicious to them as the vertues of true modestie and gentlenesse shall be profitable: for all extremities be odious, and there is nothing that

that dothe moze darken the maiestie of a Prince, nor that maketh him moze ridiculous, than too muche to imbase himselfe, as that in steede of shewing the maiestie of his place, and to giue examples of his noblenesse and greatnesse, he do not bzing himselfe to that state, that he bee made a pray to all the worlde, and fashion himselfe to be scorned and derided as a mocking stocke to his people and subiectes, as that gamster Nero, who was so shamelesse and dissolute in al his doings, that in the presence of all men, he woulde sing and daunce, and somtyme dresse and disguise himself into the fashion of a woman (thinking that by these his wanton and foolish behaviours, he should please his people:) which things princes ought not only to beware of in their ordinarie conversations and talkes, but also in their garments and other gestures and publike goings, which oftentimes be the very and true testimonies of the inward harmonie of man: as the wyse man very well doth declare vnto vs in Ecclesiasticus, that the garments of the body, the countenance and the gesture, do giue sufficient vnderstanding what the man is, for which disorders Gregory Nazianzen a man of a singular learning, beholding one day in Athens, Iulianus the Apostate, emperor of Rome (being but a yong man,) by the insolencie of his gestures, and by the mouing of his membres did sodenly prognosticate his euill happe to come, as it is written in the Tripartite historie: for after that he had seen and perceyued his immouable necke, the continual mouing of his shoulders, his furious and staring countenance, his impatient and vnnecesurable marching, with a greate number of other unhappie lykelihodes that did appere in him, (the rehearsal whereof, woulde bzing no edifying or profite to the hearers, but onely laughter) and further a certayne lyghtnesse in him sodenly to condemne those things one day which he had allowed the pape before, withoute hauing any certitude or concordance in his questions and answers. This holy man I say, euen as was inspired with the spirit of

*Nero ple-
sant before
the people.*

*The externe
actions of ma-
do giue suffi-
cient testimo-
ny what he
is inwardly.*

A prophe-
cie upon Lu-
lianus the A
postata by
Gregory
Nazaren.

Prophecie, cryed oute with a loude voyce, and sayde: Wh
what a monster dothe the common wealth of the Roman-
nes nourishe and bring vp?

The tenth Chapter.

VVhat Iustice is, and vvhat profite and commoditie
the same bryngeth to gouernemente, and howe
that vvithoute the vse thereof, Kingdomes can not
be called kingdomes, but dennes and receptacles
for theeues and robbers.

The descrip-
tio of Iustice
according to
the mind of
S. Augustin



Iustice hath suche affinitie
with the vertue of Cle-
mencie (vvherof we haue
intreated before) that if ye
separate the one from the
other, they shall bee as no-
thyng, and vvithoute any
force or effecte. Saincte
Augustin (a graue autho-
r in the Church of C. A. D.)
dothe wryte, that if we
take awaye Iustice from
gouernemente, Kyngdo-

mes shall bee nothyng else but very nestes and dennes
for theeues: For (sayeth he) suppressie Iustice in anye
Domynion or Kyngdome, what bee they then but har-
bours and places for theeues: and where bee places for
theeues but in Kyngdomes that bee vvithoute Iustice?
Furthermoze (as Cicero dothe wryte,) the puissance of
Iustyce is so greate, that euen those that do repose them
selues in wyckednesse and myschiefe can not maynteyne
theyr iniquities vvithoute some parte of Iustice: For yf
the

P.
one
the
mod.

the captaines of thieues and robbers doe not deuide egally their praies, eyther they shal be killed by the reste, or else utterly leste of them. Justice is a vertue (sayeth Aristotle) that dothe containe and comprheide all the rest, she is only the guide and conseruatric of all humaine societie, and yeldeth to eche man that apperteyneth to him: no common wealth or humaine policie can be gouerned or mainteyned withoute her ayde and succour. Whiche Plato that diuine Philosopher dothe acknowledge in the fourth booke of his Common wealthe, where hee writeth that the most chiefe and moſte. excellent giste that **G D D** hath giuen to men (conſidering the myseries whereinto they be ſubiect,) is that they are gouerned by Justice, whiche bydeleth and reſtrayneth the boldeneſſe of the furiouſ, conſerueth and mainteyneth the innocentes in their ſimplicitie, and reſtoreth to euery one egally that belongeth to him according to his deſertes.

A notable ſentence of Plato in his booke of a common Wealsh.

The Emperour Severus was ſuch a lover of Juſtice, that he neuer made lawe or pronounced any ſentence, but firſt he woulde haue the ſame allowed and approued by the aduiſe of, **xx** wiſe and learned men in the lawes. And as touching ſuch matters as concerned the warres, and other martiall affayres, he alwayes toke the aduiſe and opinion of the moſte ancient ſouldiers and beſte experimented Captaines that he coulde finde. Suetonius vpon the lyfe of **Domitianus** the Emperour, dothe recite many vices whereunto hee was ſubiect, but one of the moſte cruell and notable that he was infected wythall, was, that hee puniſhed the poore, and pardoned the riche, and ſo eyther for money or affection did peruerſe Juſtice.

The emperour Severus a great lover of Juſtice.

Domitianus emperour came to the poore and a greate fauor of the rich.

But ſo as muche as the Princes of oure tyme doe not exerceyſe the place of iudgemente themſelues (as the Princes did in the olde tyme) yet they ought at the leaſt to be very vigilant and curious to knowe & vnderſtand wel y maners, the vertue, the integritie of lyfe, and the ſufficiencie of ſuche
as

*Such as buy
their offices
in greate, sell
afterward
by retaile.*

*The emper-
our Seuerus
a great eni-
my to cor-
rupt iudges.*

as they doe depute: for else they shall one daye be called to accompt for the wrongs and iniuries of their ministers. Plutarke writeth in his politikes, & Plato in his common wealth that there is no mischief more pernicious in any common welth than the buying & selling that is made of offices. For they which be riche, buye for money that which ought to be obtayned by wisdome and vertue: and so it cometh to passe, that those that buye their offices in greate, doe afterward sell iustice by retaile: and vpon this mischief death ryse the briberye and corruptions of these mercenarie Iudges, who doe make themselves fat by the calamities and miseries of the poore people, bring themselves to great possessions, and make their houses mightie euen by the pilling and polling of good men. The Emperour Seuerus was so great an enemy to corrupt Iudges, that he sayd he had alwayes one finger ready to pull out the eyes of those that he knewe to be suche.

The Egyptians had alwayes mercenarie Iudges in suche suspicion and contempte, that they dyd alwayes sweare suche as they chose into the place of iudgement, and therein did charge them vpon payne of death they shoulde not violate their othes, nor giue any iudgement contrary to righte and equitie, although they were straightly commaunded to the contrary by their Princes. And to the ende they shoulde haue alwayes their othes printed in their remembraunce, they caused to be set vpon the iudgement seate, the image of a Iudge, hauing his eyes put out, and his handes cut off, signifying thereby, that they oughte not to be parciall to any man, nor to receyue money or other bybys to defeate Iustice.

*e Alexander
Seuerus dyd
punish his se-
cretary for a-
busing ius-
tice.*

Alexander Seuerus, Emperoure of the Romaines, is be- ryne muche commended of the Historians, because that he dydde punish his owne Secretarie, beinge informed that he caused the estate through briberye to violate iustice, in disquieting thereby the poore, and maynteyning the riche
in

in their naughtinesse and wickednesse. Herodotus the *Greke*
 wyter byd greatly commende Cambyfes King of the
Persians for his carefull diligence in punishing the wicked
 iudges that did peruerter iustice: for as he was vpon a tyme
 aduertised by the testimonie of many, that a Iudge called
 Sylamnes, was corrupted by money to pronounce false
 iudgement, (euen at the same instant that his offence was
 discovered) he caused him presently to be slayne (being as
 liue) and commaunded that his skinne shoulde be napled
 ouer the seate where the Iudges were accustomed to sit to
 pronounce iudgement, and that it should remayne there for
 euer, to the ende that other Iudges taking an example ther-
 at, should beware from thenceforth that they do not defile
 them selues with the like offences: and ordeyned further,
 that the sonne of the same Iudge shoulde supply firste the
 same seate, to the ende he should be admonished by the ex-
 ample of his father, saythfully to minister iustice. Plato a
 man that thought he could neuer commende iustice too
 muche, hath left vnto vs in wyting, that this excellent
 vertue of Justice is commonly defiled in two things, the
 one is, that when the punishment of the offence requireth
 expedition, the Iudge by synenesse and of purpose doth de-
 ferre the Iudgement of the matter, to the ende that by pro-
 longing of tyme there shoulde be some meanes founde for
 to saue the offendour: the other is, that when the offence is
 notable, and that it deserueth paines of death, or some other
 coꝝpozall punishment, it is stayed and turned into a cer-
 tayne summe of money, and by meanes hereof, men that
 are offenders get muche libertie, and haue great hope (by
 force of their riches) to haue their offences remitted, and
 to escape the daunger of death.

If these *Ethnikes*, who had not suche knowledg of god
 as we haue, haue detestd the violaters and infringers of
 iustice, how muche moze ought we to do the like, conside-
 ring the thzeatnings that are made vnto vs for the same

El. i.

by

An exhortation of Salomon to Iudges.

by the mouthe of the Lorde. Let vs hearken therefore to the exhortation in this behalfe, that Salomon (one of the moſte ſageſt and wyſeſt Princes that euer bare Scepter) maketh vnto all Kings and Iudges, and other that doe ſitte in place of miniſtration of iudgement: Geue eare (ſayth he) you Kings and Princes, and marke well you that iudge the coaſtes of the earth, learne and open your eares to heare, you that gouerne the multitude, and that delighte in muche people, for the power is gyuen to you of the Lorde: who will marke diligently your doings, and wyll ſearche your thoughtes, bycauſe that when ye were miniſters of his kyngdome ye haue not Iudged iuſtly, nor haue not regarded the Lawe of Iuſtice, ye haue not walked accoꝝdyng to the will of G D, wherefoꝛe he ſhall appeare fearefully vnto you, and that very ſone, and he ſhall gyue a harde iudgemente to ſuche as be in the places of iudgemente, to the ſimple ſhall be graunted mercy, but thoſe that be in Authozitie, ſhall ſuffer greate toꝛmentes, for the Lorde that is Ruler ouer all, ſhall excepte no mans perſon, neyther ſhall he ſtande in awe of any mannes greateneſſe, for he hath made the ſmall and the greate, and careth for all a lyke. To you therefore (O Kings) doe I ſpeake, that ye may learne wiſedome, for they ſhall be iuſtly iudged that haue kepte iuſtice.

Wildom ca. 6.

Beholde lo, a maruellous inſtruction for earthly Iudges, that haue no mynde but vppon the woꝛlde, and be a ſlaꝛpe in the darkeneſſe of ambition and woꝛldely honour, and ſet all their felicitie to make them ſelues greate and marvellous to the people, and after their deathes to leaue their childeꝛen inheriteꝛs of their gloꝛie. Let them hencefoꝛthe therefore, I ſay, goe to the ſchole of the wyſe, to refoꝛme their lyues, and to knowe how that thys lyfe is caducall and tranſitoꝛye, and that further they ſhall be iudged, euen as they haue iudged others,

others, and of such a Judge, to whom also al our thoughts be knowen.

The.xj.Chapter.

Hovv that crueltie and tyrannie are cheefe enemies to Iustice, vvhre also is shewed vvherein the good Prince differeth from the tyrannous Prince, vvith sundry examples confirming the same, gathered as vvell out of the Greeke as Latine Authors: vvich vvill bring great pleasure and contentation to the Reader.



Iustice hathe not a moze greater enemy than crueltie and tyrannie: which be things very monstrous and abhominable in man, who is a noble and excellent creature, made to the image and similitude of God, bozne to be meke and gentle: but if he be once defiled and infected with thys wicked Tyrannie, he is (as

*Tiranny
chief enemy
to Iustice.*

Aristotle sayth) like a thing transformed into a brute beast, and become enemy both to God and man. But to the ende we may know the good Prince from the tyrannous Prince, I will set forth vnto you here certayne differences of the good princes and the tyrants (which I haue collected out of a great number of good authors.) The Tyrant bereth his people with Subsidies and vnreasonable Exactions, and layeth heavy burthens vppon them: the good Prince doth not exacte vpon his subiectes, but for things that are

*Wherin the
good prince
differeth fro
the Tyrant.*

U.g.

necef,

*Aristotle in
his politics.*

necessarie and behouefull. The tyzaunt conuerteth all his
eractions into pompe, pleasures and bzaneries superfluous
and vnprofitable. The good Prince to the contrary imploy-
eth all for the sauegarde, defence, and conseruation of his
Subiects, the strenghtning of his Realme, and to resist the
incurfions of suche as would trouble the quietnesse of his
people: the Tyzaunt woulde be feared and redoubted of
his Subiects, without rendering any leue of his behalfe a-
gayne. The good Prince would bee saythfully loued of his
Subiects with a true and sincere heart, and loueth them
agayne with a paternall zeale and amitie. The tyzaunt
doth rule and gouerne his common wealth by dissembling,
deceite and couetousnesse: the good Prince doth gouerne by
prudence, integritie of life, and well doing. The tyzaunt is
gouerned by flatterers, clawbarbes, and other suche kinde
of vermine that do bewitche and enchaunt his senses with
pleasaunt things, as fantasies, collusions, and newes: the
good Prince doth not take in hande or execute any thing,
but by the aduise and counsell of the wyse and sage. The
tyzaunt feareth nothing moze, than that the people should
agre together and bee of one minde, fearing thereby that
they should conspire agaynst him: the good Prince desi-
reth nothing moze than to nourish and mayntayne peace
among his people: and if there rise any debate or stryfe
among them, trauelleth by all the meanes and wayes he
can to reduce them agayne to good will, mutuall loue and
amitie. The tyzaunt being stryred and moued (as writeth
the Prophet Ezechiel) is as a rauening wolfe ready to shed
bloud: or as Plato sayth, a consumer and deuourer of the
people. And the wise manne knowyng very well his
propertie, nameth him a fierce and greedy Lion, or a Beare
that is hungry and thirsty for the flesh and bloud of the
poze people: which saying is confirmed by S. Paule, when
he sayde (being escaped from the crueltie of Nero) he was
deliuered from the throte of the Lion: but to the contrary
the

the good Prince hath suche care ouer his Subiectes, as a *Qualities*
 good Father hath ouer his children and familie, or as a good *required of*
 Shepheard hath ouer his flocke: who (as writeth Iulius *good princes.*
 Pollux to Commodus Caesar) to the end he would haue him
 garnished with those things that are required at his hands,
 ought also to be meeke, iuste, gentle, magnanimious, li-
 berall, master of his owne will, carefull, industrious, vigi-
 lant, puissant in counsell, sober, stable and firme in words,
 prompt to forgive, and slow to reuenge. And hauing thus
 now made an end of the differēce betwene good princes and
 tyrannous princes, I will now (folowing our accustomed
 maner) produce some examples of those that haue ben most
 infamously renoumed in tyrannie and crueltie, to the ende
 that Princes seeing their disorders and insolencies (by the
 testimonies of the moste faythfull and moste credible au-
 thors that haue written) should be admonished to eschue
 such vices, least that their posteritie haue not cause to write
 of them, as we doe now of others. And bicause Heliogabalus
 a Romaine Emperour, hath bozne the firste name of wic-
 kednesse in his time, we will put him firste in the ranke,
 and to the ende that his monstruouse life shall be the better
 authozised, we wil recounte it according to Lampridius, Eu-
 tropius, Iulius Capitolinus, and many others. The firste be-
 ginning of his Tragedies was, he caused his brother to be
 slayne, afterwards he married his stepmother, the mother
 of his brother whom he had thus killed, and immediately
 after he was chosen Emperour: in steade of well prouiding
 for his Empire, and giuing good orders, that his common
 welthe should be well gouerned and ruled (the rather to
 come to his enterprizes) he banished all the wise and sage
 personages of his dominions, afterwards he ordeyned a
 woorthypfull colledge of bawdes, of bothe kinds, who did o-
 penly (in the presence of all people) cause youth of bothe
 sexes to be defiled: the seruice of these people was so agre-
 ble to his minde, that he vsed them as pages to serue him

*The monste-
 rous life of
 Heliogaba-
 lus according
 to the testimo-
 nie of many
 authors.*

as other great Lords are serued of their household seruants. Beholde lo, the first zeale of this beastly Emperour to his common wealth. Now when he had ended and finished this his notable worke, he woulde then take vpon him the office of an Orator, and made a long Oration to them, in the which he did perswade them by wanton and slender reasons to inuent al the new & vnacustomed means that they could of baudy and filthynesse, and that with all libertie. And the better to bying them to his loze, he exhorted them to put away all shamefastnesse, and that they should become bolde and shamelesse, bicause that shamefastnesse and bashfulness were chiefe enemies to all pleasures: and not contenting him selfe with these abominations, he gaue him selfe wholly to be caried away with his wanton and impudent desires and lustes, that he caused foure naked women of the fayrest in all his prouince to be tyed to a charyot, and so led throught the stretes: and also when he was at hys meat he would be serued with foure other women naked as the others were, to the ende that by suche meanes his people with al libertie should be prouoked to wantonnesse and whozdoine: and bicause nature had giuen him an excellent beautie in all his lineaments, as well in his face, as in the propoztion of his members, he was so effeminated that he would fashion him selfe like a woman, and the better to folow them, he would trim him selfe in their habites, and counterfayte their behanours and countenaunces, and by desire further, amongs hys other filthynesse, to bee transformed into a woman, to the intent that he mighte proue the pleasures of the feminine Sex. And therfoze not stayed nor contented with all these aforesayde beastlinesse and lasciuiousnesse, this diuell incarnate did perswade him selfe therevnto (that no wicked spirite or diuell coulde deuyse the lyke,) but as one sinne draweth another, so he did fantasie in hys mynde, that by arte he mighte be transformed into a woman. And the better to put in execution this hys

Diabo,

*An abominable desire
of an emperour.*

Diabolicall luste, he caused all the chiefe and excellent Surgeons and Whistitians of hys tyme to be gathered toggythers to worke this feat, and they being assembled toggythers promised him that he should haue al such ouertures and cuts as he would desire, and that he should be made apte to haue the company of a man, as a woman hath: By which persuasion they gelded and cut him in all places necessarie for the same, but in the ende he was made (by the iust iudgement of God) vnprofitable in both the sexes. And now to the intente the vertuous eares of those that shal heare the maner of this his losenesse & slipperinesse of life, shal abhorre and deteste the same, and frame them selues to eschue the like, we think it expedient to declare also after what sorte, and to what purposes he imployed the renenue of his realme (for it was one of the most opulent Monarches that euer was) and as he passed all others in all kinde of impudencie, so did he exceede all men in hys dispenses: for you shall not reade in the Historie of any Authoꝝ (what so euer he be) that there hath benne founde eyther Emperoure, King, or Prince so prodigall in folishe and exceeding expenses, as he was, who, as they say that haue written of his lyfe, made neuer any banquette (after he was Emperour) that coste hym not aboue threescore Markes of golde, which after our account is two thousande and five hundred Duccates: and all the delicious and moste delicate meates that he coulde fynde, he woulde haue, as the Tonges of Pecoakes and Pightingales, the Combes of the Cokes, the genitoꝛies of all the moste rarest kynde of Wyꝛds that coulde be had, and woulde cause hys Table to be furnished withall, and woulde eate of them, saying: that there was no sause so good as costlynesse.

*An incredible expen-
se of Helio-
gabalus.*

And he thought it not sufficient for to feede hym selfe with suche delicates, but he woulde cause hys householde seruants also to be fed with such rare kinde of meates, as the Lyuers of Pecoakes, egges of Partriches and Phesants,
and

and suche other kynde of viands, which were good for none other purpose but to prouoke the stomake, & to ouercharge the same: and in the ende he was so blinded in his voluptuouſnesſe, that he cauſed his Beares and Lyons to be fed with ſuche kinde of meate: he was alſo ſo pompous and coſtely in his garments, that as you may reade, he neuer ware commonly one garment but one day, and he was ordinarily clothed with golde or purple, enriched and beautified with all kinde of precious ſtones. And as touching the reſt, as the vtensiles of his houſe, they were all either of golde, ſiluer, Jaſper, Bronze, or Porphyre, yea even to the pottes which he vſed for the excrets of his body: and he was in the ende giuen vp to ſuche a reprobate minde, that when he wente to hoſebacke he woulde cauſe the ground to be couered with the limal of golde or ſiluer, thinking the earth to be vnwoorthy to ſerue him as a ſoteſtole, or to touch his ſete. Beholde lo, in ſumme, the principall poynts of the laſciuious lyfe of this miſerable Emperour, who in the end by the diuine iudgement of God was payed with an hye woorthy his tragicall lyfe, for he was killed by his owne ſeruaunts, and carried throughtoute all the ſtrates and market places of Rome: afterwards, hauing a great ſtone hanged about his necke, was caſte into Tiber by the conſent and agreement of all the people, hauing his body (for an honozable funerall) buried in the bellies of Fiſhes. Now hauing declared vnto you very exactly the maners and doings of Heliogabalus Emperour of Rome, it ſhall not be ſtraunge, folowing our purpoſe, to rehearſe in this behalfe the crueltie and tyrannie of Aſtyages king of Medes, little or nothing inferiour to the other aforeſayde, who dreameing one night a certayne dreame concerning his daughters childe (which dreame he thought he mighte not well diſgeſte, fearing that hereafter it woulde take effecte) determined to preuent the childes fortune. And to the ende he mighte the better bying the ſame to paſſe

to passe, he caused Harpagus (one that he loued best of any in all the Realme) to be called and deliuered to him the same childe in secrete, and commaunded that he shoulde kill him by one meanes or other oute of hande for certaine causes which he would not disclose to him at that present, and not to make any man priuie therunto. Harpagus hauing receiued this charge, began to haue a maruellous combate in his minde, for as the pitie he had of the yong infante, did drawe him on the one side, so the crueltie and feare of his maister, did threaten him on the other side, but reason did take so muche place with him in the ende, that he was perswaded, not only to saue the life of the childe, but also to cause it to be brought vp in some secrete place from the knowledge of his maister: yet he coulde not handle the matter so finely nor so secretely, but that in the ende Astiages had vnderstanding that Harpagus (contrarie to his duetie as he thoughte) had saued the life of this childe. Which thing he did dissemble for a time, with so good a countenance towards Harpagus, that he thought him selfe without all suspition. Afterwards vpon a day he made Harpagus to dine with him, hauing before caused one of his children to be slain, which he had made one of his Cookes to dresse, as though it had bene some other meate, and caused it to be serued at the table, withoute any knowledge to Harpagus, wherof he ate very willingly. But Astiages insatiable in his cruelties, was not satisfied, that he had made him onely eat the bodie & flesh of his owne childe, but further he caused his face and head to be put into a dishe and serued likewise to the Table, to the entente he mighte knowe what he had eaten, and thus sitting at the boarde, he demaunded of him in mockerie, if he thought his meate were good: To whom Harpagus fearing to haue a worse mischance at his handes, answered modestly: that all things were good at a kings table. Hauing ended these cruelties of Astiages, we shall not doe Maximilian another Emperour of Rome, any wrong to put him in the Theatre amongst the others,

*The child
that is here
mentioned
was so muche
fauored of
fortune after
ward that he
was surna-
med the great
Cyrus king of
the Persians
as it is amply
declared in
Herodotus.*

*The cruelty
of Astiages
king of the
Medes.*

Es,

who

*The cruelty
of Maximianus Empe-
ror of the
Romains.*

who besides an infinite number of cruelties wherein he was delighted, ordinarily he had one in common that passed all the others, for he caused the bodies of men being alive, to be tied with the bodies of dead men, face to face, and mouth to mouth, and so left them together, till the dead body by his putrefaction had killed the living body. The Emperour Tiberius (who shall make an end of our examples of cruelty,) seemeth to me to have passed all the others in cruelty, that the Historians at any time have ever made mention of: for he commaunded vpon paines of death (that thing which I read not of any other, but of him only) that no man should lament, weepe, nor sigh, or make any semblance of sorrow for those which he put to death innocently. And he had those that were purposely deputed in all such cruelties as he did execute, that had none other charge but only to marke and beholde all aboutes, if there fel any teares from any bodies face, or if there passed any sighes from any, or whether they gaue any manner of signification of heaviness or griefe for the same, which if they did, they should sodenly be carryed to the place of execution, and to be punished with the same paine that he was, whose innocencie they did lament. After, when he was well satisfied of such kinde of Martirdomes, he would then delite to deuise some others, as farre from all humanitie as the others. For he would make those that should be executed, to drinke without al measure before they were ledde to the place of execution, and after they had well drunke, he would cause all the conduites of their bodies to be bounde and tied, that they should not make their water, and so would leaue them languishing vntill they should die with extreme rage and paine: And all Virgines that were condemned (before they came to the place of execution to suffer) he would alwayes cause them to be deflowred with his varlets, that with their liues they mighte also lose their virginitic. I coulde likewise reherse the cruelty of Phalaris, king of Sicilia, and of many others

thers that did murther an infinite numbze of innocentes, causing them to be put into a Bull made of bzasse, with fire round about it, to the intent that the patients within, being in their tormentes, might make a noise like the roying of a Bull, least that vsing their accustomed voices, they shoulde moue the assilantes to pitie. But it shall suffice amongst so great a numbze of suche kinde of tyrannies, that mighte be gathered out of the Histories, to haue rehearsed only these fewe, to the ende that Princes and all others that shall vnderstand these abominations, shuld take heede that they do not headlongs, cast themselues into the ditch where others are falne befoze them.

*The cruelty
of Phalaris
king of Cici-
lia.*

The twelfth Chapter.

A Treatise of Peace and VVarre, and the difference of the one from the other, things necessarie to be red by Princes and Magistrates that haue the gouernment of Realmes and Common vvealthes.



Dcare is mosse chiefly to be desired of all Princes for the good gouernemente of their realmes and dominions, and there is no one thing that doth moze continue the same, and conserue the dignitie royall of the Prince, than to kepe the subiectes in vnion, amitie and concord: and the prince to shew himselfe louing towarde them, as he desireth to be beloued and honoured of them againe. For

¶.y.

there

*The force of
the prince co-
sisteth in the
vnio and co-
cord of the
subiects.*

*The author
perswadeth
princes to flee
from warres.*

*Peace, the
spring and
fountaine of
all humane
felicity.*

*Man only
borne to loue
and concord.*

there is no defence, force, or pollicie, that maketh the Prince more strong and more redoubted than the loue, quietnesse, and good will of his people and subiects, with the which being fortified and armed, he shall be without all such suspicion and feare, as commonly Princes are subiecte vnto. And now we see as much as many Historians bothe Greekes and Latines haue very aptly taughte the manner howe to make warres, I wil not intreat thereof at this present: but rather exhort all Princes to flee from it as a thing moste dangerous and pernicious to all common welthes. But to the end they may the better learne to abhorre the one, & to embrace the other, I will manifest to them by sundrie Examples as well the damages and inconueniences of the warres, as also the contrary howe requisite and necessary a thing peace is, and the commodities thereof: Being as it were the spring and fountaine of all humane felicitie, gouerner and nurse of all that the vniuersall worlde containeth. Peace I say giueth being and strengthe to all things: she keepeth and conserueth them in suche sorte, as without hir aide and helpe in one instante they woulde be ouerthrowne, destroyed and spoyled: for by hir aide the lande is tilled, the fieldes made flourishing and greene, the beastes feede quietly, Cities be edified, things ruinate be repaired, antiquities be augmented, lawes be in their force, the common wealth flourisheth, religion is maintained, equitie is regarded, humanitie is embraced, handie craftes men be set a worke, the poore liue at ease, the riche men prosper, learning and sciences be taught, with all libertie, youthe learne vertue, olde men take their rest, virgines be happely married, Cities and Townes be peopled, & the worlde is multiplied. But I pray you Mortal men, that haue any sparke of humane nature, enter into your selues, & iudge if it be not a monstrous and prodigious thing that nature hath bred and brought forth a living creature, only capable of reason, hauing certaine similitude of the Godhead, onely bozne to loue and conoord, and yet alwayes

wayes peace is better receiued amongs other brute beasts than with him, and beasts although they be depriued of the vse of reason, yet they liue quietly in peace and concozd one with an other. And that it shall be founde true, marke, the Elephant seeketh the companie of other Elephantes. The Cranes and Stozkes haue a certaine confederacie and alliance together: by the which the one dothe aide and comforte the others. The Antes and Bees haue one common wealth and pollicie amongs them: yea and the most fierce and cruell beasts of the earthe, what brutishnesse so euer they be of, doe not so muche degenerate from kinde, that they pursue one an other. For one wilde Boze doth not by violence take an other. One Lyon dothe not dismembze an other. One Dragon dothe not exercise his rage against an other. One Wiper doth not hurt an other. And the concozde of the Volucs is such, that it is receiued in a Common prouerbe. And further, if we will be indifferent iudges, and wel consider the vniuersall order of nature, we shall not finde in any parte therof but very Harmonie, peace, and mutual concozde. Let vs marke well the spheres and celestial bodies, that although their motions be sundrie, and in like manner their properties and forces contrary: yet it is so, that they doe regarde mutuall vniformitie amongs them, and doe performe and ende their courses and reuolutions by times appoynted and determined for them by nature, and what are moze contrary amongst them selues than the foure Elements: yet alwayes they haue suche a Simpathia and concozde amongs them, that they doe keepe themselves in one certaintie, compasse, and course, withoute hurting or annoyng the one the other. The fire dothe not consume the aire, but dothe nourishe and keepe it in his bosome. The aire environeth the water, and by a mutuall embracing, dothe enclose it and keepe it within certaine limites, as likewise the water dothe the earthe. And can there be founde in all the order of nature, any thing moze vnlike than the bodie and

Brute beasts do liue more quietly together than men.

The description of the concozde of beasts

Peace amongs volucs and other furious beasts of the earth.

Peace amongs Elements.

*The descrip-
tion of the
coniunctio of
the body and
soule.*

*The Vine a-
morous of the
Elme.*

*Take the
males from
the females
from many
plants and
they will be
come barren*

*The Ada-
mant loneth
yron.*

*The amity
betwene gold
and Mercuri-
us.*

*The wicked
spirits haue
certein ac-
cord and ali-
ance & ge-
thers.*

soule: and yet alwayes they be so well conioyned and tied together, that they cannot be separated by any other meanes than by death. And these things in like manner doe not on- ly appeare in sensible and liuely things, but also inuegitable things, as Plantes and Trees in the which we must acknowledge certaine similitudes of great concord & amitie, for amongs many plantes and trees, if ye take away the males, and keepe them from their females, they wil corrupt and wither, and so continue in perpetuall sterilitie: as we see at the eye, the Vine dothe embrace the Elme, and dothe reioyce and delight of her presence. Likewise the Iuie is so amorous of certaine trees, that it keepeth them companie after they are deade and withered. And what things are so farre from feeling as the stones be: And yet those that are the greatesearchers of Nature, haue acknowledged some sparke of secrete amitie in them: for the Adamante loneth Iron, and draweth it vnto him, and retaineth it in suche sorte, that when a man shall take it away, it seemeth to suffer some passion. This maruellous puissance of amitie, seemeth to extend like wise to Petalles, which we see manifestly, that Mercurie is so affected to Gold, that if he be neere it, he plungeth incontinently into it, as if he were rapt and carped away with some extreme loue. I dare well adde vnto this a thing more marvellous (but to the euerlasting confusion and slaughter of man) that euen the very Diuels and wicked spiritesthemselves (by whose malice the first alliance and concord betwene God & man was broken) haue a certaine amitie and confederacie together, in such manner that they do exercise their rages and tyrannies against vs by a mutuall consent and accord: But Oh immortal God! man, (to whome peace is more necessary than to all other creatures) only dothe despise and contemne the same. And yet, if you wil compare man with other beastes, and behold and note him well from the head euen to the foote, you shall not finde any marke or token in him that doth not promise peace,

peace. And as for brute beastes, nature hath provided to the contrary, apt armour to defend the in their kinde, as to Bulls he hath giuen hornes, to Lions nailes, to wilde Bores furious teethe, to Elephants long snoutes, to Dolphins sharp prickles poynted like spurres, to Crocodiles harde skinnies impenetrable, with greate and strong nailes, to Serpentes venime, which doth supply the want of other defences. Besides all this, Nature hath giuen to some beastes a hideous fozine, to some flaming eyes, to others some a fearfull crie, and terrible manner of lowing: but to man she hath not giuen nor provided other armour but weeping & wailing: and therfore it is farre vnmete that he should be borne for war who as soone as he is brought forth vpon the earth, knoweth none other meanes to demaunde any succor or aide but by weeping and crying. Let vs marke his figure (in whom the very Character of God is Imprinted) and we shall not perceiue it hideous or fearfull as other Beastes be, but meeke, gentle, pleasant, and amiable, euen very marks and tokens of perpetual amitie and concord. Marke his eyes, & you shall see them to be two faire lights, and messengers of the soule, which shew not so furious or burning as other beastes do, but pleasant and delectable, alwayes lifted vp towards heauen, from whence he toke his beginning, the beames whereof haue suche puissance in all creatures, that it seemeth it should be some charme that Nature hath giuen to man, to pierce into the very depthe & profound partes of our harts: she hath giuen man also armes to embrace one an other, and to him only is giue the delite of kissing, for a more ample testimonie and scale of amitie. To man only is giuen laughing, the very token of mirth and pleasantnesse. To man only is giuen teares, which be faithfull messengers of (clemencie and mercie) and dothe sometimes stande vs in steade of sponges to drie vp little fumes of choller that doe nowe and then rise amongs vs.

Likewise she hath giuen man a voice, not sharpe and shrill

A marvellous efficacy of the eyes, to conciliate amity among men.

Only man doth kisse laugh and weepe.

*Man is gi-
uen to felow-
ship and eni-
my to care-
fulnesse and
solitarinesse.*

*The amity
comingall is
more excel-
lent than any
other loue is.*

shirle as shee hath done to other beastes, but sweete, pleasant, and harmonious. And yet nature not thinking it sufficient to garnishe him with all these giftes: but shee hath giuen him the blage of reason and speeche, a thing of an incredible force and puissance to nourishe amitie and good will amongs men. Further shee hath ordained to man a comparable felowship to drie away all carefulnesse and sorowe, and to make him the better esteemed, shee hath induced him also with knowledge and learning, wherby he shal be able to byidel the moste hautiest and barbarous Tirant vpon the whole earthe. And further, to bring him to his full and entier perfection: shee hath grauen in him certaine sparkes of godlinesse and vertue, that (euen withoute any precepts or teaching (only guided by Nature) he can discern the good from euill. And besides all these giftes and saouours of Nature for the moze increase of amitie, shee hath so appoynted and ordered all things, that one hath neede and helpe of an other, euen from the greatest to the leaste. And shee hath not so ordained and appoynted that any one prouince shall bring forth the all things that are necessary for the vse of man: but shee hath disposed all things in suche order, that one shall bozowe, and as it were desire some one thing of an other, the better to tie and confederate vs firmly togethers. And thus loe you see howe Nature a gracions mother to mankinde, hath lefte vnto vs many meanes and wayes whereby we may encrease amitie and concozd. And further if we will searche diligently thzough all the state of our life, we shall perceiue that without a mutual peace and loue which dothe maintaine and conserue vs togethers, the memorie of mankinde should remaine wholly buried and extinde for euer. For firste of all, if it were not for the loue that is in Patrimonie, amitie (which is moste noble, moste excellent, and most holy) and for desire of procreation, mankinde should perishe immediatly after he is bzought forth into this world. And if it were not also for the loue and diligence

ligence of Spores and Spiderwees, by whose succour and ayde we are defended and nourished (our feeblenesse and imperfection is suche) as we should bee denoured of wyld beasts, and serue as meate for them. And let vs note the great loue of the fathers and mothers towards their children, which is of suche force, that they loue them before they see them (being yet in their entrailes) a loue certayne that returneth agayne from the chyldren to their parents, whom they do likewise nourish and sustaine in their ages, euen vntill death call for them, and after death render them agayne to the earth, from whence they came, and they make them also liue agayne being dead, for as of a tree being cut, ther groweth and springeth forth other branches, that continueth the kynde from time to time: so these children whom they haue procreated, do make their names euermoring, and as it were to lyue for euer from age to age. And to be shorte, nature dothe stirre and pricke vs forward by so many meanes, and with so many instruments of hir infinite prouidence, to make vs loue together, that we ought to be ashamed so to shed the blood one of an other of vs. But oh unhappie and miserable wretches that we are, I am ashamed to confesse that I must needs, that although peace was sent from aboue for the onely vse of man, and that he should embrace the same, yet it is so, we may see at this present day, that the Pallaces and publike places sounde of nothing else, but of dissentions and debates, yea and suche, as the *Stonkes* haue not had the lyke: for although the moste parts of *Europe* bee not replenished with *Proctors*, *Secrators*, and *Advocates*, yet in no place there wanteth great number of *pleaders* and *litigors* without all measure, who in these dayes do consume the moste parte of their age to deuoure the blood and substance one of an other. Now do you marke this pitifull spectacle, search further, and visite the moste notable Cities in the world, where the Citizens bee enuironed with

Man is so feeble of himselfe at his birth that without the helpe of others he should be denoured of brute beasts. A description of the incredible amity of fathers towards their children.

The author doth shewe by order, the contentions and debates that is at this day in the estates of this our life.

*Discord in
marriage.*

*Dissention
and discord
even amongs
them that
professe lear-
ning.*

*The author
doth con-
demne the
contentions
and strifes
that one
schole hath
ageinst an o-
ther, and spe-
cially those
that write a-
pologies, in-
vectives or
Satyres.*

one wall, ruled and governed with one law, and as it were sayling in one shippe, and bee likewise in common perill of lyfe and death: yet alwayes amongs many thousands of families, whereof the common wealth is formed, yee shall with much payne finde one that is without some disorde or dissention. Will you searche further, and see what is done in Marriage where fortune is common, the house common, the bed common, the children common: and that moze is, where there is so great a comunitie of the bodies, that there seemeth two to be transformed into one, yet wickednesse doth so preuaile, that scarce amongs an infinit number, yee shall hardely finde one that dothe not offende in some one thing or an other: for commonly either the husbände complaineth of the wife, the wife is greued with the husbände, or the children with the father & mother, and can not agree one with an other. Let vs leaue marriage, and speak of learned men, because that learning & science should take away from man al affection, and shold so well refozme euill maners, that suche as do professe the same, & giue their minds wholly vnto it, should become heauenly, godly, and marnellous befoze the eyes of the worlde. But oh insupportable grieve, if yee will marke with an attentiu mind, you shall finde that warre is open amongs them, not bloody warres, but certaynly vngentle and cruell warres: for one Schole striueth agaynst an other, the Ultramontanes with the Citramontanes, the Retbozitions with the Logitians, the Perypatetians with the Ptoniciens: and for the moste parte all the controuerxies and tragedies are not grounded but on tryfles and things of small value, and yet of suche ridiculous contentions their colour dothe so ryse and inflame them, that although they fighte not with Launces and other Engins of warre, yet they spare not to pursue one an other with suche fiercenesse, and to geue suche blowes with the stroke of a penne, that the markes thereof shall appeare to their posteritie, and lea-
ueth

with their renounes so well paynted and set out, that the
 ages folowing shall beare wytnesse thereof. And yet thys
 is not all that I haue sayde vnto you, for if yee will searche
 further, euen into the inwards parte of man (who is a li- *The inward*
 uing Creature composed of many peeces and partes,) you *and domesti-*
 shall finde that he hath no greater enimie than his owne *call enemy of*
 selfe, for he combateth continually with him selfe, reason *men.*
 fighteth agaynst the affections, the affections against concu-
 piscence, charitie draweth him one way, and sensualitie an
 other way, so that couetousnesse, ambition, the diuell, the
 wo:ld, and the flesh be all camped within his body, & make
 open warres vpon him. Dought not wee now to blush for
 shame (being suche as we are) to presume to name our
 selues Christians, when wee differ so farre from Iesus
 Chryst our Captayne and Chieftayne: for marke the order
 of his comming, and ye shall finde when he descended from
 heuen out of the bosome of his father, to take our humanity
 vpon him, to reconcile vs to our god, he chose his quiet time
 when al Realmes & Empires were at peace, to accomplish
 his legation vpon the earth. Which thing the prophet *Esay* *Esay. 9.*
 seing it long before, did propheticie of his comming, saying:
 one people shall not lift them selues agaynst an other: nor
 battayles shall not be exercised. And Dauid in the *Psal.* *psal. 17.*
 mist dothe confirme the lyke, speaking of the comming of
 Iesus Chryst, and sayde: Justice shall be exalted in these
 dayes, and peace shall be plenty. Beholde lo, how Dauid
 and Esay (stirred by the spirite of God, shewing vs the com-
 ming of Chryst into the earth) did not promise vs a gouer-
 nor, or conqueror of comon wealthes, as a warriour, or a tri-
 umpher, but a prince of peace: which he doth also confirme in *psal. 75.*
 an other place, where he said, y his place was made in peace,
 he said not in fortresses, tentes, or pavillions, but in peace.
 And marke S. Paule (who of a man of much vnquietnesse
 and cruell life, was made quiet and gentle, how he prefer-
 reth charitie (which is none other thing but peace & tran-
 quillitie

P.h.

quillitie

Corin. 1. ca 13.

quillitie) aboue all other Celestiall giftes: as in many places he nameth charitie the God of peace. But let vs note well how the Lorde God abhorred and had in hatred Warriours, and such as make ready Marchaundise of humane bloud, when that he would not haue Dauid to buyld his Temple, although he sayde he had founde a man according to his hearts desire, and that because onely he was polluted with those that he had kylled in the warres: but he would that it should be Salomon his sonne, which is as much to say in the Hebrew tongue, as peace: and yet it was by the commaundement of God allwayes, that Dauid did take in hande all his battels. But now if the warres enterprised by the commaundement of God, dothe pollute and defile man, how shall we render accounte of those warres which we enterprise to make of malice, enuie, and ambition. If a good king hath ben accounted to be polluted for shedding the bloud of Infidels and *Ethnikes*, shall not we be countable for shedding of so much christian bloud as is dayly vppon the earth, which hath ben bought so deare by so great and excellent price, as by the bloud of the sonne of God: Oh you Christian Princes, consider well the beginning of the reigne of Iesus Chryst (who is the very true purtrade and figure of yours) the continuation and the issue thereof, and ye shall perceiue, that at his birth the Angels sounded not the warres, nor they did not publishe triumphes, victories, and bzauneries: but onely the peace exalted by the Prophetes, desired by the Apostles, and commended vnto vs of the Lorde. Further, Iesus Chryst being growen into mans yeres, what dyd he teache, exhort, and expresse to his Disciples, by so many his Parables and Documents, but onely peace: saying vnto them: peace be to you: and did commaunde them also to do the like, when he sayde: if ye enter into any house, ye shall say, peace be vppon this house: who tasting very well of his holy doctrine, in the p̄fates of their Epistles with alwayes peace vnto

*At the birth
of Iesus
Christ the
Angells did
pronounce
peace.*

Math ca. 10.

vnto them to whom they wryte, as S. Paule dothe to the
Romans, Corinthians, Ephesians and Hebrews. And Chryst
 for a further confirmation therof, sayde vnto his Apostles: Iohn. ca. 13.
 Doe you vnderstande how ye shall be knowen to be my
 disciples? if ye haue peace and loue among you, ye shall be
 knowen to be mine. Behold lo, the armour of Iesus Chyist,
 and of his, beholde I say his Egles, his Lions, his signes
 and markes, by the which he would haue his knowen and
 discerned from others. Thus if the chyldren of God were
 knowen by peace, the truly by the contrary things we may
 iudge who be the chyldren of the Diuell. And further his
 zeale was so much towards peace, that he thoght it not suf-
 ficient only that he preached, published, & pronounced peace Iohn ca. 20.
 in all the time of his being here befoze his passion, but be-
 ing neare the anguish of death, willing to recomende the
 same to his Apostles after his death (as a thing that he
 moste chiefly delighted in) did admonish them to loue one
 an other, as he had loued them. After he ioyned to it: Iohn. ca. 14.
 I giue you my peace, I leaue you my peace. Herken therfoze
 O ye couetous men, he left them not Castles, townes, for-
 tresses, nor other such vanities, but onely peace. What did
 he after the celebration of his holy Supper (feeling then the
 most furious assaults of death) did he not pray his father to
 kepe his disciples in his name, that they might be one with
 him? Beholde lo, the testimonie of amitie and loue of Iesus
 Chyist, which did not onely pray his father they should be
 in amitie and loue togethers, but that they shoulde be also
 knit to him, to shew vnto vs thereby the way of the euerlas-
 ting vnion and peace to come. And yet not satisfied wyth
 this, but he shewed him selfe to his Disciples after his try-
 umphant resurrection, saluting them with the gracious sa-
 lutation of peace, when he sayd (manifesting him selfe) peace
 be amongs you. And our Lorde nameth him selfe father of
 vs all, he calleth vs his chyldren, he willeth vs to call one
 an other bryethren. Seeing then we haue the place of frater-

nitie togithers, wherfoze do we so muche search the death one of vs of an other: he nameth him selfe also the Shepheard, and calleth vs his sheepe, and who did euer see sheepe fight one with an other, what shal rauening wolues do the, when that the sheepe shal pull in peeces and dismember one an other: what ment he by this saying, when he called him selfe the stocke of the vyne, and named vs the stalkes and bzaunches of the same, but onely to shew vs a very example of loue and con corde: If therfore in one vyne the bzaunches shal combate one agaynst an other, what monster shall that be in the order of Nature: and yet ye see it dayly practised amongs men, who be so hungry of the bloud the one of the other, that they seme as though they would draw it out, eue to the last drop. What ment S. Paule when he sayde, that the Church is none other thing but a body framed and composed of many members to cleaue to one head Iesus Chryst: And who did euer see one eye fight agaynst another, one hande agaynst an other, one foote agaynst an other: soz in all the frame of mans body, although the parts thereof be vnlike one to an other, yet we see in it a very harmonie, con corde and peace. And it is a thyng farre from all reason, that the members should haue contention or stryfe togithers, that are so ready to helpe and defende the one the other, by certayne mutual actions, and that so diligently, that if the eye be in any danger of hurt, the liides are ready to shet and close them incontinently to stande them in steede as a helpe or defence. And if the head be in daunger of hurting, the hande presenteth it selfe incontinently to serue as a buckler and a defender. And further, if the law of Iesus Chryst doth commaund vs that we shal do good to the that haue deserved euil towards vs, and that we shoulde pray for them that persecute vs, what shall become of them that for a light offence, or for a money matter do stir vp so many controuersies and variances: Our Lord Iesus Chryst doth teach vs to liue as the birdes

*In the frame
of mans body
composed of
contrary
things there
is peace, har-
mony, and co
cord.*

birdes and foules of the ayre, not to care for to morow, and al to the intent he would driue vs from the vayne trust and confidence of this incertayne riches, & pul out of our harts the inordinate affection and desire thereof, which is commonly the cause for the moste parte of all warres that is enterprised: and for this cause Chryst sayth, they that labour & forgo, and be put out of their possessions, and suffer persecution for my sake, be happy and blessed, for theirs is the kingdome of heauen. And I pray you good Christians, what great testimonie of loue is it, when he exhorteth vs that we should lay down our oblation that we bring to the temple, & call to our remembrance if we haue any hatred or malice agaynst our neighbours, to seeke first to be reconciled to them before we offer it vp: What token of loue is it when he would gather vs together to him, as the Vnder the chickens vnder his wings: These men that be so thirstie of the blood of their neighbours, be not they the very hytes that murder the chickens of Iesus Chyrist? And note well with what sharpenesse he reproveth S. Peter, when he would haue vniustly defended him, being in hazarde of deathe. But vngratefull wretches that we are, howe dare we communicate the holy Supper of the Lorde together (which is a true Bankette of a mytie and loue) hauing yet our handes embzned wyth the blood of our neyghbours: and how dare we destroy them, for whose healtie and conseruation the Lorde dyd suffer deathe: howe dare we be so lyberall of their lyues and blood, saying that Iesus Chyriste hath shedde his owne blood to saue and redeme them? Oh abhominable thyng, before God: Oh stony hartes, that yet haue not at the least so much compassion of your christian brethren, as the moste cruell and fierce beastes haue one of another: who as we haue said before, do not exercise their rage and crueltie one agaynst an other, & if by chaunce they do, they vse none other armour then that nature hath giuen them:

Math. 5.
An exclamation
gathered
red upon the
gentlenesse among
brute beasts, the best
to bring men to loue
and concord.
Beasts do defend themselves
none other way but

And

*by the armor
that nature
hath giuen
them when
they fight.*

*Beasts do
not combat
for light cau-
ses as men do:
but when
hunger doth
inforce them,
or if any mā
goe about to
hurt their
yong ones.*

*An allusion
of the prayer
of our Lord.*

And they haue also a modestie in their fightings, for after one of them is hurte, they departe the one from the other: but amongs men they neuer cease commonly in their combats, till the soule be departed from the body. And also if brute beasts do fight, they fight but one agaynst one, so that you shall neuer see ten bulles assaile other ten, or twentie lions fight with other twentie lions, as we see commonly fiftie thousand men ouerthrow other fiftie thousande in the fielde: and that moze is (which is a thing greatly to our reprofes) if brute beasts do combat or fight, it is not for light causes and trifles, but when hunger and famine dothe enforce them, or if that any body goeth about to hurte their yong ones: but men oftentimes for a very small cause, eyther for a certayne vayne title, or vpon the lustinesse or contragiousnesse of their harts, will put them selues into the fielde, and that done, they are not ashamed in their prayers to call the Lord their father, even when they god to the slaughter of their brethren. They desire his name may bee sanctified, but what can moze dishonour the name of the Lord, than the hatred thou hast agaynst thy neighbour? That his kingdome should come, how are we so bolde to pray for the comming of the kingdome of Iesus Christ, when that Dauid the wise Prince feared in such causes to present him selfe befoze God? we rather oughte to desire that the mountaynes should fall vpon vs to couer vs, than to appeare befoze the iustice of God, being so polluted with the effusion of the blood of our neighbours. That his vvyll should be done in earth as in heauen, he did vayne the Angels out of heauen for their disobedience agaynst him, and being vpon the earth he preached none other thing but peace, and yet thou arte eniute to thy neighbour: thou dost pray that he woulde giue thee this day thy dayly breade: how darest thou demaunde breade of the father of heauen, when thou burnest the wheate and houses of thy brethren? Thou eatest his trauell, and yet thou destroyest
hys

hys substance : but oh good Lorde, why do we not tremble when we desire hym he would pardon vs our offences, as he wold we shold forgiue others, when wee be so far from forgiuing, that we go to murder oure brethren. Wee praye to him also that he woulde deliuer vs from temptation, and yet we oure selues tempte oure brethren, and put them in great peril. And lykewise we pray to him to deliuer vs from euill, and go dayly aboute nothing else but wickednesse and mischief. Hauing now shewed certaine principall poynts of such things as appertained to the declaration of the commoditie and profit that peace dothe bring, I will nowe declare what warre is, and what glozy and fame they carry alwaye that do exercise it, to the ende that comparing the one with the other, you may iudge how damageable and pernicious it is to mankynd. Will ye vnderstand what warre is: thinke that you see befoze your eyes a great company of men assembled togethers with pale and brousy faces, hydeous and horrible, with barbarous cry, eyes al burning and flaming, pronoking wraath and anger, the noyse and ratling of armour, with an horrible thundring of cannons, then a furious assault all full of rage and fiercenesse, a slaughter of the dead, some dismembred, other some lying vpon their felowes half dead, the fieldes all couered with dead carkases, the founteyns and riuers all stayned with humaine bloud, one brother oftentimes fighting against an other, kinsman against kinsman, frende against frend, all set on fire one to slay the other, and yet scarcely haue any cause of enmitie betwene them. Wilte thou vnderstande further the very spectacle of the warres howe pitifull it is: Hast thou seene the conflict betwene the Beare and the Lyon, or any other beasts of contrary kynde: what fretting and foming: what crueltie is it to see them dismember and pull in peces the one the other: howe much more straunge is it to see man ageynste man, so furious one ageynst an other, and as it were transformed into a brute beaste, and all to exercise his rage and

An exhortacio to princes to flye fro warre with a description of infinite euels and mischiefs that growe herof.

A comparison of the warres of beasts and men.

The calamities and miseries that followe warre are here described.

crueltie vpon his neyghbour, besides an infinite numbre of other euils and mischeces, that depend therupon: and those poore simple people, who haue buylded made and garnished so many faire and beautifull Cities, haue governed and ruled them, and by their trauell and labour, haue enriched, fortified and maynteyned them: Euen by reason of these outrageous warres and controuersies they see them sometimes in their owne presence made ruinate, defaced, and thowen downe, their cattall taken from them, their cozne and fruite of the earth (befoze it is ripe) cutte downe, their towne and villages bzente, and that whiche is moze cruell and inhumaine, oftentimes they bee killed and slayne. And when there is preparation made for the warres, euery manne is afrayde, and in continuall daunger, and when the same is in execution, there is no samylie that dothe not lament and wepe, and tast the miserie thereof. For then the handycrafts ware colde, the poore be constrained to fast and die of hunger, or else to haue refuge to vnlawfull exercises to help and sustein their liues, the virgins be violated, the chaste matrons remayn bareyn in their houses, the lawes be still, humanitie is extinct, equitie is suppressed, religion is contemned, the sacred places are prophaned, the people pillied, the poore olde men bee captiue, and see their childezen slaine befoze their eyes: the yong men are out of order, given to al kinde of wickednesse: yee shall fynde an infinite number of Widowes, and as many fatherlesse childezen, the Prince is enuyed, and the common people being oppressed with taxes, and subsidies, conceyue hatred agaynst him, and all is full of murmures and curses. And I pray you mark with what difficultie they entertaine so many strangers men of war: what prodigalitie is vsed in expenses for the preparation to the warres, as well vpon the sea, as on the lande: what labour and toyle is there vsed in making of fortes, bulwarks, and rampiers, clensing of dyches, preparing tentes, carrying munitions, charyots, canons, armoures, and other

other suche diuelliſhe deuices for the warre, continuall making of watches, and ſetting forth of ſcoutes, and ſuche other like exerciſes of warre, not without continuall feare and perill whereſoeuer they be, and yet ſpeaking nothing of the infinite trauell of the poore ſouldiers, and their maner of living whiche is ſo auſtere and cruell, that euen the very beaſtes are not ſo muche troubled as they are. For the ſely beaſtes hyde themſelues the night tyme in the caues of the earth, but the poore ſouldier watcheth almoſte continually: and if by chaunce he taketh his reſt, it is eyther at the ſigne of the Moone, or the ſigne of the rayne, froſt, ſnow, or wind, and he muſt alway haue his eare at the grounde to harken and watche (as the aſpis doth) (leaſt he be ſurprized: he endureth hunger, heate and cold, and when he vnderſtandeth the heauie token of the battell, he dothe thinke to himſelfe that he muſt eyther receiue ſodein death, or elſe kil and murder his neyghbour: and thus for by Crownes in the moneth he bindeth himſelfe to the hazarde of the blowe of the Cannon: ſo that amongs all the ſeruitudes and ſlauerie of the worlde, there is none like or to be compared to the miſerable lyfe of a ſouldier.

Theſe laſt be the reaſons of S. Auguſtine in his booke de ciuitate dei where they be amply deſcribed.

Alas, was it not ſufficient that nature had created man poore and miſerable, ſubiect to many calamities and miſeries, but further we our ſelues muſt adde warres for a more burthen or miſchief, ſo ſtraunge and pernicious, that it paſſeth all others: a miſchief ſo plentifull & fertile that it comprehendeth in it ſelf all kinde of euill: a miſchief ſo peſtilent and contagious, that it doth not only afflict the euil and wicked men, but alſo layeth his moſt cruell blowes vpon the poore innocentes. Plinie that graue authoꝝ and many other haue left vnto vs in writing, that notwithstanding two thouſand yeres paſt, the phyſitions had diſcouered three hundred kindes of diſeaſes or more: wherevnto mans body is ſubiect, and therewith continually afflicted, beſydes other newe diſeaſes that did appere dayly not accompting amongs any

Gentle reader haue good regard to this that doth followe, for thou ſhalt finde a maruellous doctrine therein touching the miſeries of our humane liſe.

Aa. y.

of them

of them the insupportable burthen of olde age (a disease incurable) noz making mention of any towns in *Asia*, *Europe* and *Affrike*, which are sonke with their inhabitants, some ruinated by tempests, some swallowed vp into the intrayles of the earth by emotions and sodain quakings of the same, some oppressed by the falling of the mountains, & other some drowned and eaten away by the violent incursions of the seas, noz naming an infinite numbze of venims, poysons, and pestilences, wherewith our liues are beseged and continually thzeatned: yet for all these afflictions and miseries, which haue and do dayly fall vpon vs, we spare not to pull in peeces, to dismembze, mangle, and search the death one of other, and that with suche vehemencie, that our crueltie is abhorred amongst the very *Ethnikes*. And yet if oure rage were exercised vpon the barbarous and heathen people, it might be the better bozne withall, and the victorie thereof might bring some contentation to the conqueror. But Oh good Lord, will we know what be the glories and triumphs of them that are victorions amongst vs? Their safegard and conseruation is the ruine of their neighbors, their riches are the pouertie & dispoyling of others, their ioy is the sorow and lamentations of others, their triumphs are infelicitie of others: And yet oftentimes it is the victorie of Cadmus wherco as well the victors as those that are vanquished, in the ende do wepe and lament: For there was neuer warre so happye that in the ende euen the conqueror himselfe did not repent if he had any sparke of humanitie in him, which hath appeared euen amongst the very *Ethnikes* themselves, who haue acknowledged the same by their owne testimonies, as that good Emperour Marcus Aurelius, who vpon a day receyuing his triumph for a greate victorie that he had gotten against the enemies of the Empire, feeling in his conscience the wrong that hee had don to his neyghbor, when he was carryed in his Charyot to receyue his tryumph, began to saye to hymselfe; what moze greater follie or vanitie maye happen

The victo-
ries that
christians
haue one of
an other are
most lamen-
table.

happen to a Romain Emperoure, than when he hath conquered many towines, disturbed the quiet, destroyed Cities, razed fortresses, robbed the poore, enriched tyrantes, shedde much blood, made an infinite numbze of widowes and orphans, then in recompence of all these iniuries, to be receyued with triumph and gloze? Many are slayne, many haue travelled, & one only hath caried away the gloze. After hee addeth these wordes: By the liuing gods (sayde hee) when I was ledde into Rome in suche fryumphe, and sawe the poore captiues captiues in yrons, and vnderstode the lamentations of widowes, behelde caried before mee an infinite treasure euill gotten, and remembred the poore innocentes slayne, if I did reioyce outwardly, I did wepe wyth greate dropes of blood in my harte, and began to exclaime against Rome to my self, and sayd, Come hither Rome, come hither O thou Rome, wherefore dost thou reioyce at the Infortunate chaunce of others? arte thou more aunciente than Babilon? more beautiful than Hely? more richer than Carthage? more stronger than Troye? more peopled than Thebes? more enuironed with ships than Gortick? more pleasant than Tyre? more happie than Nymance? that were decked with so many notable things, and kepte with so many good and vertuous men, and are now all perished and destroyed: thinkest thou to remayne for euer, flowing with so many vices, and inhabited with so many vicious men? Take this one thing for certein, that the gloze that is at this houre vpon thee, hath ben vpon them, and the destruction that is salne at this present vpon them, shall after wards happen to thee. Marke O Christians what vertues, what oracles, be vnder the harte of the wordes of an Emperour: who not being any wayes lightened with the light of the gospel, yet he had neuer rest in his conscience, but felt these bitter gnawings of the woorme (that Esay speaketh of) that neuer dieth, but terrifieth and crucifieth the soule incessantly with suche strength and force, that euen the Paynims themselves

Da. iij.

that

A marvellous worthy and noble saying of an Ethnick Emperour.

A marvellous puissance of sinne which doth cause them that haue neither God nor lawe feele the scourges therof.

that haue no knowledge of God do taste thereof.

2.Kings. 24.

Of warres
come pesti-
lence and fa-
mine.
Math. 24.

And lette vs searche a little further, and wee shall fynde, that this Warre ouer and besydes the euyls and mischieues beforesayd, engendzeth and carrieth with it two other mortall enemies to mankind, which are famine, and pestilence, the very scourges of the iuste indignation of the wraathe of God, as it is amply wytnessed in the Booke of Kings. For the fieldes being abandoned of their ordinary husbandry thzough the incursions of the wars, they bring no more fruits of the earth, but remaine desolate, which is the cause that the poore people haue not wherewith to be nourished, and being oppressed with famine eat of al sortes of pease, rootes, & other vnholysome things for mans body, which do so putrifie, that in stepe to turne to nutriment they do ingender in the corrupt & venomous humors, wherof the pestilence & other contagious diseases take their roote & beginning. And for this cause the Lorde shewing to his disciples the euils that should happen after that he had sayd to them that one nation should rise against an other, kingdome against kingdome, he added instantly, how that one shuld be infected of an other, and that there shuld be pestilence & great famine thzoughout al prouinces of the earth. Behold lo the triumphs, behold the commodities & the discōmodities of the wars, which are so familiar at this day amongs yong Princes, that they will warre one vppon an other euen vppon repozte, and without any reason probable that they can yelde for their hatred, but that the English man hateth the Scotte, because he is a Scotte: the Spaniarde the Frenche, because he is a Frenche man: the Almane is no enemie to the Frenche man, but for his name. But oh miserable men that we are, wherfore haue not we rather regarde to the marks of Iesus christ, with the which we are al alike marked: the riuer of Rens doth somewhat separate France frō Almane, but it can not separate one christian from an other: the hills of

Pirences

Pyrennees do seperate Spayne frō Italy but they are not of puissance to separate the communion of the church. The sea separateth the english men from the french, but it can not deuide the vniōn of religion: the apostles were greued to heare such contention amongst christians, to say I hold of Appollo, I of Cephas, and I of Paule, least y^e such parcialities shold sepearat y^e vniōn of Iesus Christ. But al things well considered there is no affinitie, prouince, or other thing that ought to be more deere to vs, or that toucheth vs nearer, nor that doth more straightly binde and knit vs togethers, than the societie and vniōn of Iesus Christ, being all bought with one blood, all brethren, come out of one like stock, all regenerate by one only baptisme, nourished with like sacraments, iudged by one Judge, trusting to one hye, & one paine, hauing one enemy whiche is Satan, all subiect to passions, & equall to receive death. Now that I haue sufficiently intreated of peace and warres, & the commodities of the one, & the inconueniences of the other, I wil shew you also how & by what meanes ye may win and enioy peace. There is no medicine more mete to eschue warres & discord, then to flee from insatiate ambition, loue of ourselues, & desire to reuēge, and rule, whiche is the very spring and fountaine from whence floweth al occasions of strife and debate, as the Prophet Esay saith. Cursed be you that ioyne house with house, land with lande, thinke you to dwel vppon the earth alone? This is also verifed by Moyle (gods minister) when he sheweth to y^e people y^e their sins are y^e cause of the warres, where he saith, If, ye do not obey my commaundements but do contemne my iudgements & preceptes. I wyl set my face agaynst you, and you shal fall before your enemyes, and they that hate you, shall reigne ouer you, and ye shall flee when no manne shall followe you, I will sende a sworde vppon you, whiche shall be a reuenger of my Testamētes that ye haue broken and violated, and ye shall be giuen in praye to youre enemyes. As the holy Prophete dothe confyrme in an other place, where

1 Cor. 1.

*Notable
sentences wher
in is declared
that
which ought
to make christi-
ans to liue
in loue and
cōcord toge-
thers.*

Esay 5.

Psalme. 80.

Iudic. 3.

4. Kings. 17.

4 Kings. 24.

Ozec. 4.

Egay. 5.

Ioel. 2.

Zacharie 3.
Ieremy. 3.

where he saythe, If my people had hearkened vnto mee, and that *Israel* had walked in my ways, I wold haue humbled their enemies befoze them, and I wold haue layd my hand vpon them that they should haue ben ouerthrowne. Note a little how the Lorde hath afflicted his people by warres to chasten them for their sinnes and wickednesse, specially for the vice of idolatrie. Somtimes by the *Madianites*, somtimes by the *Chanaanites*, sometime by the *Philistians*, other sometime by the *Amorites*, and other people their neighbors. Which thing Iosua did pronosticate to them: but how cruelly were they plagued by the king of *Affyrians*, and broughte into seruitude, and al bicause they did forsake the Lord their God, and worshipped the calves of Ieroboam: howe were the people of Iuda plaged by Nabuchodonosor, bicause they committed idolatrie, as Ieremie the Prophet did prophesie to them: We must not therfore maruell as the Prophet Olee sayth, yf blood seeke blood, seeing that fraude, hatred, conetousnesse, and fornication raigneth vpon the earth.

Woe sae at the eye how the hande of God is not abbreuiated, we sae how that he shooteth off the arrowes of his wraath agaynst vs, hee stretcheth forth his hande as the Prophet sayeth and stryketh vs in his furie, bycause oure greates offences doe stirre and prouoke hym dayely thereto.

Lette vs therefore chaunge oure lyues, and tourne to godnesse. Lette vs drawe oure feete from crooked wayes, and hee wyll appeale his wraathe: For hee is gentle euen in his anger, as the Prophet Ioel dothe wyte, Tourne you to the Lorde of Hostes (sayeth Zachary) and he will tourne to you. Hearken howe Ieremie the holy Prophet dothe exalte and magnifye the mercye of the Lorde:

Thou haste (sayeth hee) committed whoredome wyth many naughtie women, yet turne to mee, and I will receiue thee: we haue all committed fylthynesse wyth the fleshe, the Diuell, and the Worlde, and yet alwayes the Lorde is ready to stretche oute his hande to vs: this

is

is the father of mercie & consolation. The people of Israell (as the scriptures tell us) haue ben very prompt to commit all euil: and so for punishment the Lord did alwayes render them into the hands and seruitude of others to punish them. But alwayes when they repented, he sente them one to deliuer them out of the yoke and seruitude, & to restore them to the first state and libertie. The people of *Inda* after that they had remained a long time (for their abhominable sinnes) in the seruitude and bondage of *Babylon*, the Lord in the ende moued with pitie, restored them to their former felicitie. David being giuen to fight by his sonne Absolon, fled bare footed and bare headed, all discomfited with sorrowe through the deserts: yet was he through his humilitie restored to his kingdom again. The hearts of Kings and Princes be in the hands of the Lord, & he wil turne them what way it pleaseth him, sayth the wise man. And all these examples which we haue produced here before, tende to none other ende, but to declare to the people, that all the warres and persecutions that come vpon them, happen not by chance but they procede from the secrete iudgements of God, who dothe permit them, to the entent he woulde punish their offences, in the which they are greatly buried. We suffereth y they shal be awakened from their delites and pleasures by the scourge of warre, which he stirreth vp against them by their neighbors as S. Austen saith in *Ciuitate Dei*. And as for you Ministers of the Church, and such as make profession to preach the worde of God, I would wishe you shuld bend your selues altogether to speake against warres and barke and crie out all with one open voice against the same: and let your pulpets, and all other your publike places sounde of none other thing but of peace, and exhort all Princes continually to con corde and union. Oh how beautiful (sayth the Prophet) be the sight of them that preach Peace. And S. Paule also exhorteth vs to pray for Kings and Princes, that the Lord will suffer them to ende the

Esdra. 7.

2 Kings. 15.

Proverb 21.

He perswade the ministers of the Church to preach peace to princes

Esay. 52.

1. Timoth. 2.

15b. f.

course

Baruch. 1.

Iere. iiii. 19.

2. Kings. 17

3. Kings. 52.

course of their lines in peace. As likewise the *Jewes* being in *Babylon* with *Ieconias* king of *Juda*, did wryte to their brethren that were at *Jerusalem*, that they shuld pray for *Nabuchodonozor* king of *Babylon*, & for his sonne *Balthazar*, that they mighte liue in peace with them, and finde grace befoze them. And further *Ieremie* enspired with the holy ghost, did instruct the *Jewes* that were in bondage at *Babylon*, that they shuld pray for the Citie that they were in, to the end that it being in peace, they also mighte enioy the same. You see loe how the Lord wold that his people shuld pray for the *Ethnikes* that were without God & without law. How much moze are we bound of dutie to pray for *Christian Princes*? And aboue all things we muste take good heede that we put not the oyl into the fire to make it flame, as did that miserable *Achitophel* that stirred *Abolon* against his father, who in the end receiued a shamefull deathe in satisfaction of his offence. As likewise the priest *Abiather*, because he consented to such wicked counsel, was put out of his sacerdotal dignity.

Nowe I will conuerte my speche to you Monarches, Emperoures, Kings, and Princes, and others being in authority, of whom the poze people do depend. You I say that are their soules and their heads, enter into your selues, and be not caryed away with your owne affections: be such towards your subiectes, as the faithful fathers of the household are towards their childezen, following the Counsel of that great Emperoꝝ *Cesar*, who saide, that the god shepheard dothe neuer pull the skinner of the sheepe, but taketh only the fleece. And call to your remembrance, Oh ye Princes, that they are men as ye are, free as ye are, Christians as ye are, boughte with the same bloude, and shall be iudged by the same iudge that ye are: issued all out of one stocke and roote, and that you differ in nothing but in a litle transitorie dignitie which shall vanishe away as the smoake, and you shall haue no preheminence befoze God. Remember the voice of your great king *Iesus Christe*, who dothe exhorthe you

you to embrace peace. Beholde with your pitifull eyes the poore widowes with a great numbꝛ of Orphanes, whose lamentations dothe pierce euen to the thꝛone of God. Remember also how that we all shall be accomptable of our liues, and shall all appeare befoꝛe one iudge, who will not lose one haire of oure heades, but hathe saide vnto vs, that from the bloude of Abel, the first that was slaine, euen vnto the laste man, he will not lose one drop of bloude that shall not be accompted foꝛ, befoꝛe him, by those that haue cruelly shed the same. Ecclesiast. 9

The thirteenth Chapter.

How hurtfull incontinencie is to Princes, and howe that the same hathe bene the cause of the ruine and destruction of many realmes and kingdoms, with also a Treatise of the dignitie and excellencie of the honourable state of Matrimonie.



The obseruation of all the things befoꝛe wꝛitten, are not sufficiente to make a Prince apte and meete to gouerne anye Empire or kingdome, if further he be not deliteful and careful to cleanse his court of one kind of vice which hath bene in time past so familiar amōg Kings, princes and Emperors & it hath bene wholly the cause of the ruine of the selues and their subiectes.

Which vice because it is a matter that proceedeth of nature, and
Bb. ij.

*Vice must be
resisted in
the beginning*

and that it dothe something please and bewitch our senses, the cure thereof is the moze difficile and dangerous to be practised, and specially vpon yong princes, who as yet haue not experimented the rigours and assaults of Fortune. Wherefore there must be vsed great paine and diligence in the beginning, to resist and fight against the same: for after it is once in full possession of vs, euen those that be mozt best armed for it, shall sometimes finde themselves impeached and troubled. The vice which I doe intende to speake of, is the incontinencie that is vsed with women, to which if the Prince, or any other gouernor, dothe once giue himselfe in pray, he can not chuse in this world a moze redier way to destroy bothe him selfe and his people. And bicause the doctrine herof may be better learned how to eschue the same, we wil lay before your eyes by examples, the greuous punishments that the Lord our God hath sent to suche Princes and Princes as haue bene defiled with this wicked vice. And we wil begin our discourse by y afflictions, specially wherewith he hath plagued and tormented his owne people for this abhominable sinne of incontinencie. First of all whozedome and other horrible filthinesse vsed amongs the people, was the cause of the vniuersal floude, and that God did poure downe his wrath vpon earth. Five famous Cities, as it is wrytten in the Booke of Moyses, in the olde Testament, were destroyed for their wantonnesse and dissolute life. In the Booke of Iudges, is shewed, for the like offences twelue Princes were hanged, and foure & twentie thousande men died. In Leviticus yee may see howe that the Chanaanians were ouerthrowne for their incest and filthinesse. In the Booke of the Iudges you shall reade that all the tribe of Benjamin were destroyed for the adulterie committed with the wife of a Leuite. In the booke of kings also you shall perceiue greuous plagis were sente to Dauid for his adoultrie, Salomon likewise for the same cause did commit Idolatrie, and was giuen vp to a reprobate minde.

The

Gen. 6.

Num. 25

Judges. 20.

3. King. 11.

The Prophet Ieremie dothe say that the chaste cause of the ruine and destruction of *Ierusalem* was for adultrie. And many realmes and kingdomes haue suffered chaunge and alteration of their government, and haue bene transferred to others, for the causes aboue named. *Troy* the proude, for the raniishment of Helen, was destroyed. *Thebes* the populous for the rape of Chisippus, and for the incest of Oedippus was punished. The gouernement of kings were banished out of *Rome*, for the raniishment of Lucretia. And Aristotle in his *Pollitikes* doth say that whozedom and adultrie be the principal causes of the ruine and destruction of realmes and kingdomes. Paulanias that great renoumed Prince, for that he did defloure and afterwarde kill, the daughter of Bizance was aduertised by a spirite oute of a pillar of his ende and deatue at hande, (a thing very prodigious, that wicked spirites shall giue acknowledge of the confusion and paine that is prepared for wicked men) which thing was founde to be true afterwarde in him, for he died as the pillar had soze said to him. These final numbze of examples by vs thus manifested, I doe thinke shoulde be sufficient to pull backe and withdrow yong Princes and all other that haue given them selues to incontinencie, from the inordinate affection thereof. And as touching Olde men, S Augustine a zealous rebu-ker of vices in his *Cumtate Dei*, dothe teache them how they should tame this slipperie desire and lust of the fleshe, where he sayth, althoughe lecherie be detestable and horrible in all ages, yet it is most abhominable and monstrous in olde age. Afterwarde folowing his discourse, he wyrteth this that foloweth to the vtter cofusion and ignomie of all old leachers. Thinke (sayth he) howe muche it displeaseth God to see an olde man that bathe a graie heade, his fete full of goute, his mouthe without tæthe, his raines charged with the stone, his face wythled, his eyes holowe, his handes shaking, his head seeming none other, than the head of a dyie Anatomie, and that which is worse, one that loketh euery houre, that

An olde mā
to be leche-
rous is dete-
stable before
God.

13b. ii.

death,

Ephesians. 4.

1. Cor. 6.

deathe, the earth, and the wormes shoulde summon him to appeare befoze the dreadfull iudgement seate of God. And yet neuerthelesse in despite of all these, and his yeares, wil leaue the byole to his incontinent minde and filthie luste, and wil kinde his icie hart maugre this age: which things truely are a testimonie of reprobation and a certaine argument that the mosste græuous parte of hell are reserued for them. For he hathe neither nature nor other prouocation of the felthe, that dothe leade or induce him to suche incontinencie, but a very disordinate custome that he is salne in, in the which withoute any feare of the iudgement of God, he will continue euen vnto his graue. And it was truely spoken of S. Paule the (true louer and aduancer of chastitie) wryting to the *Ephesians*, when he sayd, that there can be no greater punishmente for an adulterer, than to be blinded in his filthinesse, that he cannot see the iudgements and Counsels of God, & also he describeth in like manner in an other place, the paines & punishments that are prepared for such as make the temple of God and the membes of Iesus Christ, the membes of an harlot, where he sayth that fornicators and adulterers shal not possesse the kingdom of God. Having nowe broughte forth these Examples befoze sayde, as it were to sette befoze your eyes the plagues and punishments y God hathe laid vpon the wicked from time to time for their abominations, (wishing y same may be a ferroure and feare for all Princes and others to beware they fall not into the like.) It shall not be muche impertinent to the matter (as me thinketh) to entreate of the obedience of the wife to the husbnde, and of the duetic of the husbnde to the wife, bicause that we entende after wardes to enter into the commendations of the dignitie and excellencie of marriage, which is the very remedie that God the Lord hath ordained againste this vice befoze named. Afterwardes we wil goe for wardes, and declare how that Princes and all other that seele them selues ouerprone of Nature,

ture, ought to marrie as well for the continuance of their race, as also for the comforte of the imperfection of mannes nature, and to auoide the displeasure and indignation of God. Man hauing that diuine Image of God, and smelling something of the celestiall Carreter of whom he toke his beginning, is not onely dreadfull to the moste furious and proudest beastes vppon the earthe, but further he hath a preheminance and authoritie ouer the woman (a creature moste noble nexte to him selfe of all others, to whome the Lord hath giuen a straighte commaundement to obey hir husbände, as Moyses the great Lawyer dothe witnesse in the thirde Chapter of Genesis, where the Lord said speaking to the woman, thou shalt be vnder the gouernement of man, and he shall rule thee: which thing is also confirmed by S. Peter, the faithfull minister of the secretes of his master in his first Epistle and third Chapter, where he exhorteth women to be obedient to their husbändes. As likewise S. Paule the cleare Trumpet of Iesus Christe hath confirmed the same in many places of his Epistles, where after that he hath amplie disputed of the subiection of the woman and of hir obedience, he addeth thereunto bicause (saith he) man is the chiefe and head.

The obedience that women owe to their husbändes.
1. Peter. 3.

Which thing also Plato the Ethnicke, and Aristotle his scholler, boide of the knowledge of the Gospell, guided only by the goodnesse and bountie of Nature, do full well recognise the same, when the one in the fifth booke of his common wealth saith that man dothe rule and gouerne ouer the woman, as the shepheard ouer the sheepe: And the other in his Politikes saith that man by kinde doth know the authoritie and power that he hath ouer the woman; and nature hir selfe (a witnesse irreprouable) doth manifest vnto vs sufficiently in hir works the very true portraict & image of this subiection and obeysance. For doe we not see that amongst al beastes as wel the airie and wairie, as also those that liue vpon the earth, the males do alwayes command the females?

A thing not only common amongs lively creatures, but also amongs pꛑecious stons and begitable plantes: for amongs them suche as haue any force, strengthe and power, we call alwayes the males, and the other moze weake and inferiours, we call females. For further confirmation of which things, we may reade in many Histories as well Greeke as Latine sacred as pꛑrophane, that the vertuous women did alwayes in acknowledging their obeisance, cal their husbands their Lordes and Masters. As Ignatius the disciple of Iohn the Euangelist (a greate obseruer of antiquities) dothe witness in his Epistle to the Citizens of Antioche. as also did Sara the wife of the holy Patriarke Abraham, who speaking of hir husband (sayd) my Lorde is an olde man. And S. Peter also a great commender of humanitie, did not forget it in his first Canonical Epistle in the third Chapter, where he saith that in olde time the holy women that put their truste and confidence in the Lord, did tire them selues after this manner, that was to be obedient to their husbandes, as Sara obeyed Abraham, and called him Lord and master as I saide befoze. And further if we will be curious to search into the secretes of the auncient histories, we shal finde moze stranger things (and yet true also) that is, that in the olde time the husbands had power ouer their wiues and children, as well for death as life (as Cesar a great authoꝝ hath left vnto vs in wytyng) but suche vnnaturall power was afterwards stayed and ended by the mightie hande of God, that it should be no moze lawfull for man to abuse them in that sorte, or to vse them as Iudges. For as his pleasure was to make the woman of mannes owne flesh, and to take hir out of his side, so he woulde that he shoulde entreate hir as his faithfull friend and euerlasting companion. And if you finde in any place of the holy scriptures, that our Lord God dothe any thing abase the woman, or make hir inferiour to hir husband, ye shal finde in a great numbꝛe of other places, that he dothe magnifie hir, exalte hir, and fauoure hir befoze man, and

1. Peter 3.

Cesar in his
commemoration.

and specially at the beginning of the vniuersall creation, where he honozed the first woman with this title or name Eue, which is to say, life, and as for man, he called him Adam, which is to say, earth, and not thinking that sufficient, but did create hir in a noble place, that is to say, Paradise terre tre, but man was made in the open fieldes, and afterwards carried into Paradise: and the woman also was created of a moste noble substance, that is to say, of the flesh and side of man (a matter made pure, lively and quick) but he created man of an element grosse and heavy, that is to say, of the styme and excrements of the earth. And Nature a soueraigne framer of all things, willing to signifie vnto vs what remembzaunce and estimation we ought to haue of the woman, hath giuen hir a certayne priuiledge aboue man (after the opinion of the Philosophers) and that is, if the man and the woman shall happen to be drowned at one instant, the man is firste vnder the water, and the woman by the very prouidence of Nature, doth remayne long aboue the water. And further, for a certayne reuerence (as an especiall grace and fauour of Nature) when she flo- weth she turneth vpon the water, hir backe vpwarde to- wards heauen, and hir face, and the reste of hir body to- wards the water: but man after he is drowned turneth his face vpwarde. Also Plinie and Helyen the Greke Philoso- phers, doe write, that for a very reuerence towards women, the very brute beasts doe fauour and honour them: for be- ing in any fury, or otherwise oppressed for hunger, they will neuer touche any woman, where to the contrary we see commonly they doe deuoure men. Further they adde to it, that if we woulde tame and make familiar any brute beaste, as Beares and Lyons, and suche like, they will so- ner yelde them selues to be handled and tamed by women than men. Cato being of Nature very seuer in all things, did so muche honour and beare reuerence towards wo- men, that he made a law, that if any man should lay hands

Women ho-
nored of
God.

Cato seuer
in all things
doth defend
that any ma
should hurt
a woman.

Cc. j.

violent,

violently on any woman, he should bee punished with the like punishment, as if he had violated the Images of the Gods. And is there any man so barbarous or so farre estranged from humanitie, that knoweth not that this our lyfe can not taste any contentation without the company and felowshyppe of a woman? who dothe putte away through hir comfortablenesse, the troubles and verations that come onely to bere our hearts, and that in suche sorte as it seemeth she was sente vnto vs from heauen for the comfortyng of our infirmities. And Salomon in his Cantike, as it were acknowledging (a thing I can not tell what) of the blessednesse in the woman, willing to describe thereby a mysterie of Diuine and hautie things, would haue couered the same vnder the pleasaunt bayle of loue, sayning a maruellous loue of a young marryed man towards his Epouse. I would alleage here many other in the aduancement and prayse of women, as how Iesus Chryste, after he was rysen from deathe, hys will was, that women should haue this preheminence before men, in that he would bee firste seene to them, and that they shoulde bee the firste trumpet of hys Resurrection, and that also they shoulde neuer be the occasion that any error should be brought to the Church of God, as many men haue ben: and man also betrayed, solde, bought, condemned, and crucified Chryst, and women cleane contrary to them did what they could to saue and preserue his life, as it is manifest to vs by the wyse of Pilate. But I am determined now in this Treatise here, not to speake any moze of their worthynesse and dignities, whereof if thou be desirous to vnderstande further, thou mayst rede Plutarcke in his particular treatise that he hath made in their commendations, and Eoccas, S. Iohn Chrysostome vpon the homilie of the headding of S. Iohn Baptist, S. Hierome vpon the explication of the xliij. Psalme: in the Bookes of the puptiall lawes of Mounser Tiraquean, counsellor in the Court of Parliament, and in many other

Latin

*Women did
neuer bring
any error in
to the church
as men haue
done.*

Latin authoꝝ, which I do omit at this present foꝝ prolixitie, and also in þe booke of Cristhan de Pise, a yong gentlewoman, one that was very well learned both in the Greke and Latin, who hath most liuely searched out those things that tend to the commendation of the feminine sexe, and answered to all such obiections as any man coulde say agaynst them, as any other authoꝝ that I haue red that entreated of the lyke matter, as thou mayest see in one great tome that she hath wꝛitten of the same. And as foꝝ my parte, the reasons that hath moued me to rehearse these few things of their cōmendations mentioned befoꝝe, both not tende to any other ende, but to induce men which haue giuen them selues bp to their wanton lustes to marry, seeing that it is the chiefe remedie that our Loꝝde God hath giuen to man foꝝ a consolation and ease of his infirmitie: and besides mariage is a thing so necessarie foꝝ man, that it is the onely conseruator and preseruer of our beginning, which Iesus Chꝛyst in token that he would haue it highly honoꝝed, being bidden to a mariage did enriche it and beautifie it with the first miracle that euer he did vpon the earth. Therfoꝝe what thing is moꝝe holy than mariage, whych the soueraygne Authoꝝ of all things hath oꝝdayned, sanctified and hallowed: what is moꝝe iuste and reasonable, than to render to our posteritie that we haue receiued of our anceters? This Loꝝd is not a Solon, oꝝ a Licurgus, but he is the onely Monarchie of heauen and earth, by whose mouth the same hath ben sanctified, and who after that he had created man of the slime of the earth, foꝝeseeing hys myserie if he shoulde dwell alone, wylling to comforte him in some thyng, gaue vnto him an ayder and companion, which he dꝛew out of his owne proper flesh and side, giuing him to vnderstande thereby that there was nothing vpon the earth that ought to be moꝝe deare to him, noꝝ that he should be moꝝe bound vnto than to the woman: & not leauing him with this his first benefite and grace, but alio when he had washed þe earth that was defiled with the wickednesse

The first miracle that euer Christ dyd was at a mariage.

of man with that great abundaunce of water: the firste law that he established, was, he should encrease and multiply to replenish the earth: a thing which coulde not be well accomplished but by the benefite of marriage, which afterwards he did confirme moze firmly, when he sayd, that a man shall leaue both father and mother, and cleaue to his wyfe and companion. But what maketh the dignitie and excellencie of mariage moze commendable than the coniunction of the diuine nature with the humanitie (a thing dreadfull not onely to the Angels, but also to the wycked spirites) which surely is to vs a testimonie most certayne and true of the loue that the Lord God doth beare towards his church, of the which he calleth him selfe husbände, and hir the spouse: wherefoze S. Paule sayth, it is a great Sacrament, the mariage of Iesus Chryst, and his Church: and if in all the order of nature there had ben any coniunction moze holy, or if there had ben any amitie moze religious than mariage, truely the Apostle would haue produced the same therof in the behalfe of Iesus Chryst and his church. The auncient *Hebrues* had mariage in suche honoz and reuerence that the new married men were alwayes the first yere exempted from the warres, although the Citie and common wealth wherein they dwelte were in great danger. The *Romane* lawes had in suche hatred the contemners of Mariage, that they did exempt those that would not marry from all publike honour and gouernements: as to the contrary, they dyd honour and gratifie with some liberalitie those that with any chyldzen dyd encrease the common wealth. Licurgus the law giuer to the *Athenians*, and a great frende to humanitie, dyd make lawes wherein it was ordeyned, that all those that did disdayne to marry (in the sommer tyme) should be banished fro all publike playes and pastimes, and soz a perpetuall infamy should be constrained (in the wynter) to go all naked throughe the market. Will you know in what reuerence antiquitie hath

The priuilege of married folke.

had mariage: the *Greeks* dyd alwayes banish for ten peres the violatozs of the Patrimoniall honour: the *Hebrues* and the *Barbarians* dyd punish it with the paynes of death: the auncient law of *Moyles* dyd stone the offendozs therein to death. The *Romanes* great pzeferers of chastitie, by their first lawes, did permitte the husbände without any kinde of proceſſe, to kill him that should be apprehended in adultery with his wife, wherein they did consider the iuste græfe of the husbände, to see his wife defiled: Cruely a law very seuer and strayte, for we are not permitted to vse suche violence to them that would kill our owne persons: as if a man would say, the offence were moze greater to violate the wife of any man, than to take away from him his owne proper lyfe, which is a certayne testimonie and true argument to let vs vnderstande how excellent and pzeious a thing marriage is, which being polluted and violated is purged by the effusion of mans blood, and authorized therunto by Justice. But why doe we repose our selues so muche vppon the testimonie of the lawes wrytten, seeing that we haue the very proper law of nature to confyrme the same, which is not wrytten in any Table of Masse or mettall, but is grauen and printed in the inwarde partes of our hearts, wherunto if we doe not obey and giue place, we shall seme so muche vnworthye the name of good Citizens, as we thereby deserue not to bee called men. For if it bee as the *Stoikes* doe say very subtilly in disputation, that to liue well, is none other thing but to folow the course of Nature: what is moze agreable to Nature than mariage? what is moze confozmable to the nature, not onely of man, but also of al other beasts, than to conserue their kind in their being: it is then a thing very ignominious to man, and deserueth great infamy to see beasts that are without reason to obey to the lawes of Nature, and he onely breake it, and strue agaynst it, and we (if we will marke well with Iudgement) shall finde in all the woorkes of Nature a cer-

*This ought
only to be vnder-
stood of
the husbands.*

*A certaine
similitude of
marriage in
insensible
things with-
out life*

sayne printe, Image, and portraite of marriage. And Pli-
nic the great searcher of the secretes of Nature, doth write
in his naturall Historie, that there are many trees and
Plantes, whereof there is bothe the Male and the Fe-
male, which of a very instinct of nature, and a secret and
mutuall loue that is amongst them, do loue one an other,
and take strength and encrease of the one with the other,
in such sorte, that if the male should not alwayes spied the
bowes and bzaunches of the female, as it were by a natu-
rall embracing, the females should become barren, & would
beare no fruite. The Philosophers write also the like of
many precious stones, which are so well tied & confederate
together by the strayte bonde of nature, that if ye separate
the male from the female, they can not exercise noz woꝝke
their naturall operations. And do we not see how that the
heauen in his continual motion hath the earth in subiection
as a wife and companion: which he maketh fruitfull & fer-
till in all things by his strength and influence, doing therein
the office of a faythfull sponse and husbando. And thus if we
should solow an infinite number of suche like examples
which nature doth represent in hir woꝝks, we might make
a great volume therof: but we haue brought forth these few
to shew you as it were at the eye, that by the ayde, solace,
comfoꝝt & sauoꝝ of this matrimoniall societie, all things are
mainteined, conserued, & continued, as to y^e contrary, if men
were restrayned fro the same, al things shold be destroyed,
made ruinate, and decayed: and there is not at this day any
nation (vnder the face of the heauens) so cruell, barbarous,
oz so far estraunged from humanitie, that dothe not reue-
rence & honoꝝ marriage. The Thracians, Sarmates, Indians,
Grek^s and Latins, yea euen those that dwell in the extreme
parts of the woꝝld do receiue it, honoꝝ it, & commend it, and
that onely because that nature (the father and mother of all
things) knowing our necessitie therein hath determined it,
and engrauen it in our harts, yea & it is of such foꝝce, that it
taketh

taketh place, not onely amongs the Turtles & Doves (who
 are of nature amozous) but further it bygeth and constray-
 neth the most furious & cruel beasts vpon the earth to obey
 therunto. The Lions be louing & gentle to their females,
 the Beares and Elephants do not onely loue them, but are
 subiecte withall to that extremitie which we call gelousie.
 The Tygers fight & combate for the defence of their yong
 faunes: The Asses which be of nature melancolie, be so
 earnest defenders of their yong ones, that the philosophers
 write, they will passe through the fire to defend and succour
 them, and as that man therfore is not to be esteemed a good
 laborer that doth onely content him selfe to continue and
 preserve the trees which he hath found planted by his aun-
 ceters, except he also endeuer him selfe to plante others to
 serue his posteritie: So in lyke maner he is not to be iud-
 ged a good and profitable Citizen, that dothe thinke the
 people that are in the common wealthe where he inha-
 biteth to be a number sufficient, excepte he do enforce
 him selfe to augment and encrease the same for the tyme
 to come, and to yelde to his posteritie by Nature,
 that which he hath receyued of his Aunceters. And also if
 we will enter into our selues, and iudge indifferently of
 things, what shall we finde in this caducall and transito-
 rie worlde more matter for man than a woman? what
 is there more pleasaunt and profitable to mans contenta-
 tion (being subiecte to many myseries and calamities)
 than to communicate dayly at his owne libertie and plea-
 sure, and that with mutnall good wyll, with his saythfull
 wyfe, the keeper of all his secretes, and saythfull trea-
 sourer of all his passions and sorowes: and as tou-
 ching other humayne frendeshippes, for the moste parte
 they be full of guyles, dissimulations and periuries:
 and oftentimes when fortune dothe frowne vpon vs,
 suche frendes become lyke vnto Swallowes, which take
 their flight in the winter, and if it happen a man to finde a
 saythfull

*The brute
 beasts that
 are without
 reason haue
 a marvellous
 affection to
 their faunes.*

faithfull frende, oftentimes the friendship dothe not continue betwene them tyll deathe, for mens natures are so diuers, that commonly they embrace a new frende, and leaue the olde: but the friendship and loue of Patrinnie is not broken or infected by any Hypocrisie or dissimulation, nor is neuer taken away nor extinde by the furious assaults of aduerse fortune, but it continueth euen vnto the graue, yea oftentimes it endureth for euer. But what more greater testimonie of seruent amitie can there be, than to leaue the father and mother, brother and sister, and generally all the race she is descended off, yea and euen to become enimie to hir selfe to follow hir husbände, whom she honozeth and loveth, and haue all other things in misliking, and depende wholly of him. If we be riche she keepeth our goods, if we be poore she employeth all hir force and induoz that Nature hath giuen hir to enriche vs: if we be in prosperitie, our felicities are doubled in hir, to see hir partaker of our wealths: if we be in aduersitie, she comforteth, assisteth, and serueth vs: if we will remayne solitarie in our houses, she then dothe continue with vs to comforte vs, and maketh vs to disgeste the more easily the incommoditie of our carefulnesse: if we goe to the warres, she alwayes beholdeth vs with the eyes of hir minde, and dothe honour vs, and desire vs being absent, and seemeth as though she were transformed into our selues: if we be vppon our returne, she receyueth vs, and entertayneth vs with all the delicates and daynties she can deuise, in suche maner that if we should say the truthe, it seemeth certaynly that the woman should be a gyfte and comforte sente from heauen, as well to alluage the heate and lustinesse of our youthe, as for a comforte and laste refuge of our age. And where Nature can not giue vs but one father and one mother, marriage both present vnto vs many children, who do reuerence and honour vs, and we holde them as deare vnto vs, as our owne fleshe, who when they are yong and little ones

do

*The loue in
marriage sur-
passeth all
the loue in
the world.*

doe with their prattlings, in learning to speake, and others their toys and fantasies, giue vs such pleasure and contentation of minde, that it seemeth nature hath giuen them to vs as things to deceiue the time, and to passe ouer parte of this our miserable liues. If we be assaged with olde age (a thing that is common to all men) they doe comfort and relieue vs therein vntill death come, and then they render vs to the earthe from whence we came, they be our bones, our flesh, and our bloud, and seeing them, we behold and see our owne selues, who do make the memoire of vs neuer to die, and do as it were make vs immortall. And further, they do procreate and engender others after vs, as do twigges that are cut off from any tree, and grafted vpon an other, bying forth the like. Some nice persons will allow very well of mariage, that it is holy, commendable, and profitable for the conseruation of our liues, so farre forth as it be well accomplished in all pointes, and that nothing goe a wrie: but if it chance the woman to be vn honest, the children vnhappie and out of order, with suche other incommodities, which oftentimes accompanie the marriage, what rage? what furie? what Roses among thornes? what Moorme wood with Honey? what pleasantnesse mixed with bitternesse is there then say they: But I do fully answer were such Gentlemen that be so curious in their affections, so delicate in their pleasures, and that thinke nothing well excepte it be seasoned with the sauce of their own appetites, that such eclipses and infirmities that continually folow in marriage, doe not procede of the cause of marriage it selfe, but oftentimes of mannes naughtinesse, according to the olde Proverbe, which sayth: an euill man maketh an euill woman, which Cato (a very seuerer man in al his doings, but yet iust and right in this) dothe confirme, saying: that it is a more harder thing to finde a good husbände, than a good Senator: Because that the most part of women that are become vicious, are commonly infected and made naughte by the wan-

*The vertuous husbands
giue occasion
to their
wives to be
discrete and
wise*

son liues and cuill examles of their husbands, who ought to be as lampes that should shine vnto them by the well ordering their mayners. For if they be spotted or defiled with any manner of vice or crime, it is very contagious and dangerous for their wiues. Behold loe, how often times we doe accuse matrimonie (that is pure and neate in it selfe) which if it had a tung and coulde speake, wold complaine of vs. Petrark (a great reuerencer of chastitie) in his Dialogue of the remedie of aduerse fortune, wyrteth, that it is very seldome scene, a wanton husband to haue a chaste wife: as contrary a wise and chaste husband, an vnchaste wife, which thing Plutarch confirmeth in his connubial precepts: when he saythe that the husband that is giuen to be common, and that giueth himself in pray to other womē, he setteth an ensigne and marke at his gates to conuey others to do the like to his owne wife. S. Augustine that greates father of the Church in his Booke *De ciuitate Dei*, exhorte men to be the same to their wiues that they woulde haue their wiues to be to them, if you desire sayth he, to haue your wiues modest, chaste, and sobye, you, which are the heades and cheefe, must giue the first testimonie and examle in your selues: (and yet he concludeth that very hardely any chaste man shall byde a vicious and an impudent woman, or a wise and discrete man a foolish woman: bicause oftentimes God dothe punishe the one of them by the other:) which lesson Seneca (the moste vertuous of the Ethnicke Philosophers) did not forgette to haue in remembrance when he wrote to Lucillus, who prayed him he woulde teache him to make a drinke, and the certaine receipte therof, without any poyson therein, which should haue vertue to cause him to be beloued of his wife, without vsing any sozcerie or incantment. Wilt thou be beloued and honored of thy wife (sayd he) loue hir and intreate hir courteously and gently, for I doe assure thee there is neither charme, sozcerie, nor any other medicine moze meete or apt to win hir, than to vse
such

A louing
drink to

cause a man
to be beloued
of his wife.

such measure of loue towarde hir, as thou doest couette to receiue of hir againe. Notwithstanding al these authorities afoze rehearsed, yet I am well assured that many wil not be satisfied noꝛ answered in those things: foꝛ there are some y stand so much in their owne foolishnesse, y thinke they shall win themselves great fame to inuey against mariage, who foꝛ y better pꝛose of their mater, wil alleage many wicked marriages and vnluckie matches greatly displeasing God, wherin ther hath ben found some women so dissolute & so far out of order in their liues, y they haue not thought it inough to violate and bꝛeake the matrimoniall honoꝛ, but also (as women rooted in all mischæse) haue poisoned, killed & murdered their owne husbands, yea and embꝛued their handes in the bloud of their naturall children, a thing so detestable, that the Historiographers haue had in hoꝛroꝛ, and greatly feared to put the same in wꝛyting. But I will desire suche curious gentlemen that folow the nature of Serpents, turning all that they touche into venime, that they will put in ballance against these monstrous marriages (which they speake of) an infinite numbꝛe of other mariages so wel matched & accomplished in al things, that it seemed that heauen & nature did take great paine to frame them, foꝛ a testimonie of their woꝛthinesse, and that in suche soꝛte, that neither death, noꝛ time it selfe (that putteth all things in foꝛgetfulness) can not take away the memoꝛie of them amongs mē. As foꝛ example, the loue of Alcestes with hir companion, the loue of Iules with his Pompey, Parcia with Cato, Artemisia with hir sponse, Hipsicrates with the great king Mithridates and many others rehearsed in the holy Scriptures, which haue bene so ioyfull to them, that they haue not onely triumphed and reioyced in the soꝛowe and toꝛmentes hapning vnto them foꝛ the same, but euen in deathe it selfe, so that foꝛ one which yee shall finde condemned in the Histories, yee shall finde a Million of others commendable and vertuous.

Do. y.

But

But if we will trie all estates that doe line oꝝ be dead with
 suche a touche stone, and wey all our actions in so iuste a
 ballance, where hath there bene any founde so holy in this
 moztal life that hath not haulted oꝝ offended in some thing?
 And that the same shall not be founde vnttrue, note the first
 estate of this woꝝld was made of two persones, that is the
 man & woman, who both two did offend. The second estate
 which was their two childꝝen, the one was a murthurer of
 the other his bꝛother. The third estate which was Noe, was
 derided of his childꝝen, wherewith the Loꝝde our God was
 offended. Let vs goe further to the kings, ye shall finde that
 Dauid was a good man, and Saule an euil man, amongs the
 Pꝛophets, Daniel a good man, and Balaam wicked: amongs
 the estate of widowhead Iudith a good woman, and Iesabell
 an euil woman: amongs rich men Iob was good, and Na-
 bal curst: in the estate of Apostles, S. Peter was a godly
 man, and Iudas a Traytoꝝ, so that euen amongs those that
 folowed Chꝛiste, there were some founde wicked. Beholde
 nowe then howe to be either good oꝝ badde, it commeth not
 of the estate of marriage, but of oure naughtinesse and coꝝ-
 rupt inclination: As yee see of the swate floure the Wee ga-
 thereth Honie, and the Spider poyson. There is yet one
 thirde kinde of people, which be the moſte ſondeſt and moſt
 ſcrupulous of all others, foꝝ they be ſuche, that what ſo euer
 thing is offered to them, if it be not confirmable to their
 owne ſenſuall appetite, they can not diſgeſt it. And if they
 ſeele the leaſt annoyance in the woꝝlde in marriage, it is
 to them a hot iron which burneth and toꝝmenteth them, ſo
 that they diſdaine and reſuſe it, and wiſhe that the memo-
 rie thereof were vtterly extinde and foꝝgotten. Such man-
 ner of people complaine of marriage, bicauſe ſay they, it is
 an heauie burden, a very ſea of miſchæſe, and an extreime
 ſcrutide: ſpecially foꝝ the vnquietneſſe of the women who
 are alwayes complaining, if they lacke any thing at any
 time, they neuer ceaſe to toꝝment and bere their huſbands.

I would demaund of suche picets, how they can endure any greivous iniurie of their enemies, when they can not abide any light offence of their wiues, (their companiōs and continuall friendes) or the exclamation of their children which they haue bred and brought vp into this world? For as muche as suche troubles be common, and as it were annexed to marriage, and that many there be for that respect do contemne marriage, I wil studie to satisfie their delicate desires and appetites at more leisure. But for this present it shall suffice me to aduertise them when they seele themselves tempted with impatience, and that they can not endure any small offence of their wiues and children, let them remembre what offences they do daily commit to our Lord God, and they shall alwayes heare things patiently, and in a moment God will turne it to dust. And he will not onely doe this for them, but further he will aide them with the clearenesse of the Sunne, the lightnesse of the Moone, with the vertue of the elements, with the frutes of the earth, and with other infinite necessities of his godnesse and mercie. And note withall the patience of Iesus Chyiste, and what he suffered for vs, he was made naked to clothe vs, he was prisoner, and bound to deliuer vs from the bandes of the Deuill, he made Sacrifice to purifie vs from all inwarde spotted, he had his side opened to shut vs out of hell, he had his handes (which made heauen and earth) for the loue of vs, to be pierced with many nailles of iron, he had his heade crowned with sharpe thornes, to crowne vs with a crowne of glozy. Let vs marke withall (impatiente and ingrateful men that we are,) that of his sorrow came our ioy, of his infirmitie grew our health, and that of his death, was deriued our life, and we shall be ashamed and blushe that we do not beare the infirmities and weaknesse of our household, or any small offence of our wiues, who sometimes forced euen vpon iust cause or choler, is constrained for the infirmitie that is in hir to say vnto vs with anger, that which she can

*An answer
to them that
do complaine
of mariage.*

*The patience
of Iesus
Christ to-
wards his
creatures.*

*Ethnickes
patient in in-
juries don to
them.*

not with patience well beare. And I am sure there is none of vs moze greater than Cesar, either in Councel, hardinesse or power: yet he neuer reuenged him selfe vppon Catullus, which wrote so ignominious verses againste him. And who was euer moze greater than Cato, whose roabe Lentulus did rent, and scratched him by the face in defending one that was accused: And alwayes he bore it patiently. A disciple of Zeno the Philosopher, being demaunded of his Father what profite he gotte by the studie of Philosophie, answered he learned to suffer and beare iniuries.

If therefore the superstitious Philosophers haue taught those things, what ought they to doe that make their whole and faithfull profession of Chyristianitie? Learne then you Chyistians that doe so burne with choler and impatience in your houses, learne (I say) of the Ethnickes to moderate your anger, and refraine your passions hereafter, by their examles. But now to returne againe to our firste matter, seeing that marriage is so noble, so excellent and holy, and that it is the only conseruer of our humanitie, let vs commend it, esteeme it, and honoure it as a heauenly and speciall gifte of God, which he hath sent out of his throne aboue to vs beneath, for the comforte of our liues. For if it be banished and estranged from vs, it shall happen to vs, as Xerxes that great king of Persia sayde of an infinite number of people that he did beholde vppon the toppe of a hill, when he sayde (weeping bitterly:) Oh miserable and infortunate creature man that thou arte, behold, that of so many Millions that doe nowe at this present day liue vppon the earth, an hundred yeares from hence there shall not be one lining. Who can not then frame himselfe to marriage, and learne to liue in the pleasant bondes therof, as a thing most necessarie and hollesome for mankinde, which being taken away from vs, all flourishing common wealthes and triumphant Cities shall remaine desolate, and be onely peopled with trees, rotten stockes, rockes, and sauage beastes. But con-

contrarie by the aide and benefite therof, they shalbe quick-
ned, cōserued, and maintained in their essence and eternitie.
Seeing then that the Lord our God will haue marriage, the
lawes commaunde it, honestie calles vs to it, reason exhorteth
vs, nature leades vs, necessitie constraineth vs, and the
very bones and ashes of our auncestors and parentes (that
repose in their sepulchres) do craue and require it, let vs
receiue it, honoꝛ it, and maintaine it, with suche inno-
cencie, puritie, and sinceritie of minde, as that it
be not brought in condemnation at the
last day against vs, befoze God the
iust iudge and searcher of
all secretes.

FINIS. ¶ James Chillester.

